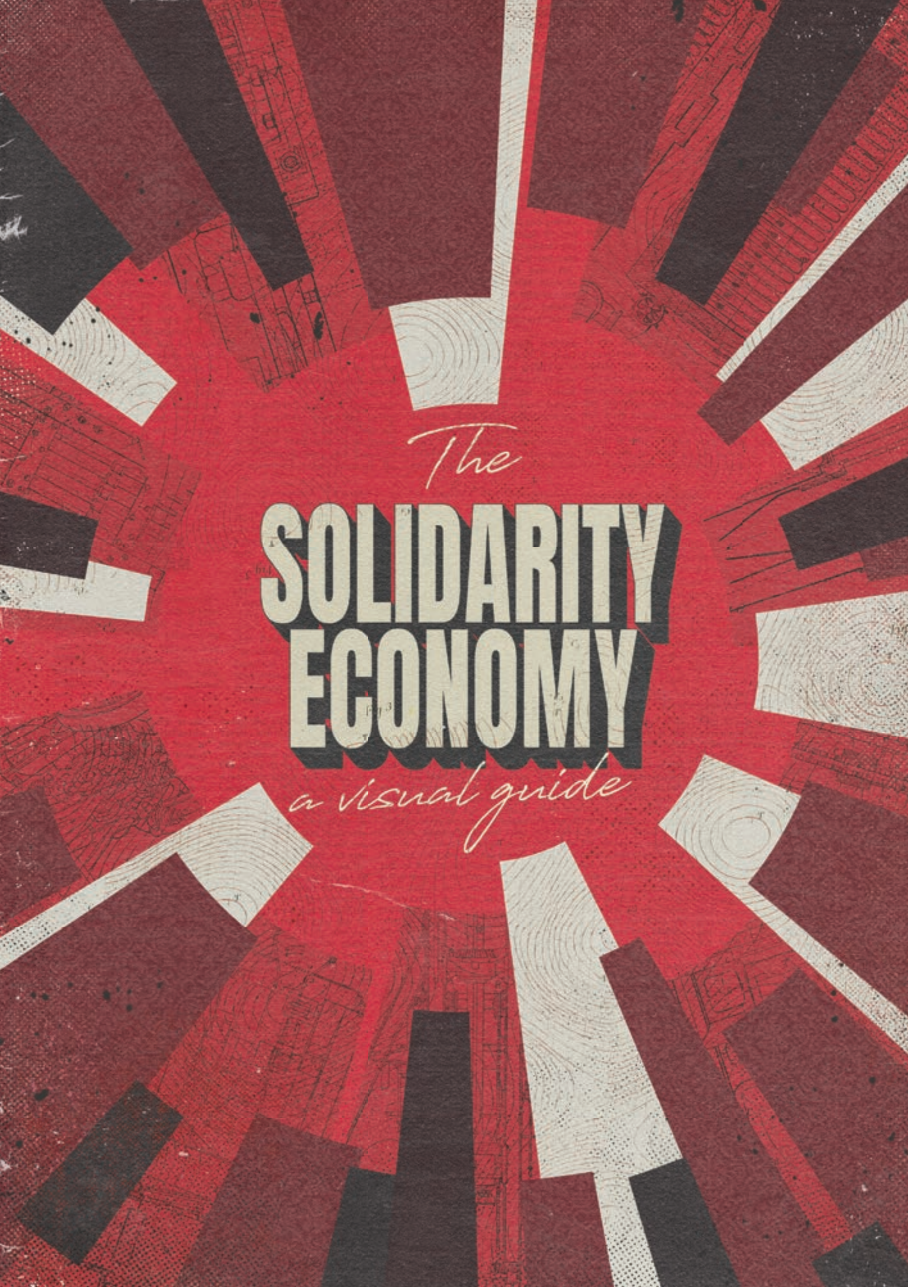
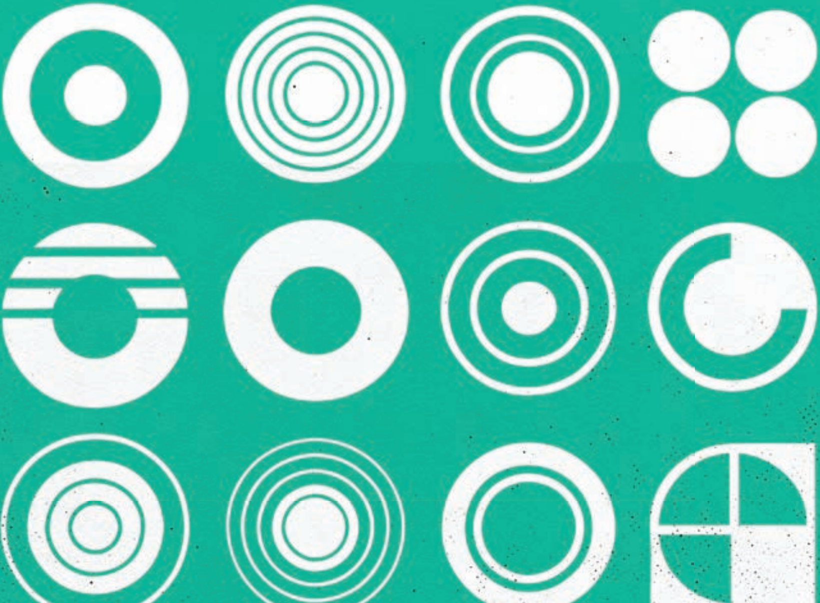


# The SOLIDARITY ECONOMY

a visual guide

# THE SOLIDARITY ECONOMY

## A VISUAL GUIDE



SOLIDARITY ECONOMY
ASSOCIATION

First published in London, 2024 by Dog Section Press

Printed by Calverts Ltd., a worked-owned cooperative

ISBN 978-1-7394216-0-1

Published under Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial
4.0 International Public Licence

Graphic design by Rory Robertson-Shaw
roryrobertsonshaw.net

Dog Section Press logo by Want Some Studio

MADE BY
CO-OP
HANDS

# THE SOLIDARITY ECONOMY

## A VISUAL GUIDE

Created by

**SOLIDARITY ECONOMY ASSOCIATION**

Written by

**RORY ROBERTSON-SHAW**

with

**COLM MASSEY & JO TAYLOR**

Illustration and design by

**RORY ROBERTSON-SHAW**

# CONTENTS

## PART 1 - INTRODUCTION TO THE SOLIDARITY ECONOMY

**CHAPTER 1:** *Introduction*
**CHAPTER 2:** *Capitalism*
**CHAPTER 3:** *Bullshit Jobs*

## PART 2 - SOLIDARITY ECONOMY PRACTICES

**CHAPTER 4:** *Mutual Aid*
**CHAPTER 5:** *Workers Councils*
**CHAPTER 6:** *Confederalism*
**CHAPTER 7:** *Unions*
**CHAPTER 8:** *Coops*
**CHAPTER 9:** *History of Coops*
**CHAPTER 10:** *Community Land Trusts*

## PART 2B - COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICES

**CHAPTER 11:** *Co-optation*
**CHAPTER 12:** *The NGO Industrial Complex*

**PART 3 - THE SOLIDARITY ECONOMY HISTORICALLY AND TODAY**

**CHAPTER 13:** *The Commons*
**CHAPTER 14:** *The Paris Commune*
**CHAPTER 15:** *The Spanish Revolution*
**CHAPTER 16:** *The Black Panthers*
**CHAPTER 17:** *The Zapatistas*
**CHAPTER 18:** *The Worker Recovered Enterprises Movement (Argentina)*
**CHAPTER 19:** *Rojava*
**CHAPTER 20:** *Landless Workers Movement*
**CHAPTER 21:** *Cooperation Jackson*
**CHAPTER 22:** *Abahlali baseMjondolo*
**CHAPTER 23:** *Cooperation Town*
**CHAPTER 24:** *Short Examples*

**PART 4 - CONCLUSION**

**REFERENCES**

**FURTHER READING**

**WHAT IS SOLIDARITY ECONOMY ASSOCIATION?**

# Chapter 1

# Introduction

## Part 1: Introduction to the solidarity economy

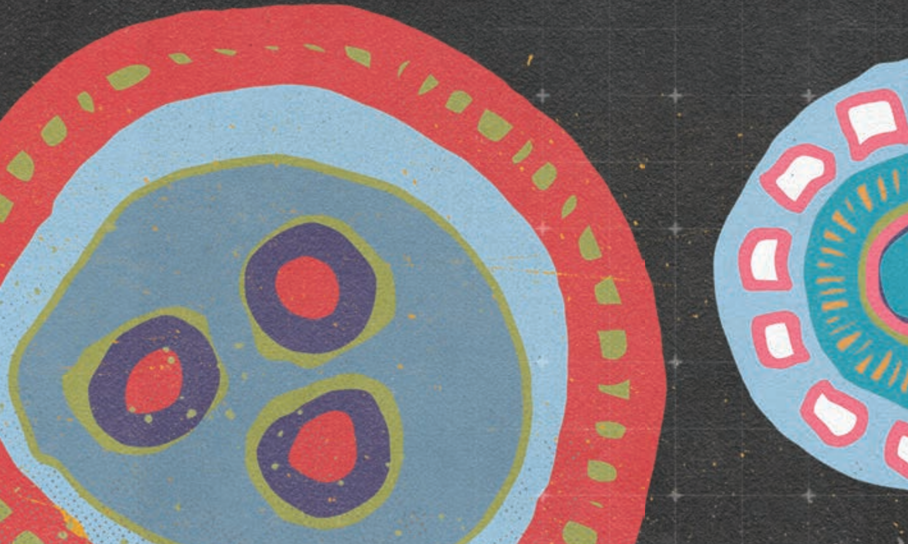
# INTRO

WE LIVE IN
CAPITALISM,
ITS POWER
SEEMS
INESCAPABLE
BUT THEN, SO DID
THE DIVINE RIGHT
OF KINGS

— Ursula Le Guin

We are on the brink of climate breakdown and ecological collapse so devastating that it risks ending organised human life.

Many people realise the scale of the crisis we are in. There is a general malaise within our society – it's common for people, particularly the young, to talk of how we are doomed as if it were an old joke. It's also indicative of a general feeling that whilst people know we are in a bad place – "of course we are fucked" – the ability to imagine or even contemplate that things could be different is lacking. As the now clichéd phrase goes: "It's easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism".



But one fact remains. Globally, we will live through the most revolutionary period in human history. The Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution, the Spanish Revolution and the global 60s will appear as a mere flash in the pan compared to what is coming due to the climate and ecological emergency. Our ideas may seem marginal now, but a politics based on mutual aid, reciprocity, and a profound and radical transformation of how we live provides the only way to survive the scale of the crisis that is coming. Heatwaves, flooding, wildfires, increased pandemics, crop failure, war, famine, and infrastructure collapse are already here; they will get far worse as we go over climate tipping points.

It is likely that through climate catastrophe, there will be new areas of autonomy opened by state retreat. We are in a unique position, as those who want to change things, in that we know a profound crisis is coming; however, no one is acting as if this is the case. This fact should inform our strategy, our plans and everything we do.

But, as we know, massive changes only come about through pressure. While it seems increasingly likely that the status quo will collapse in the coming years, there is no guarantee of what will replace it. Without the organisation, numbers, and ideas to survive

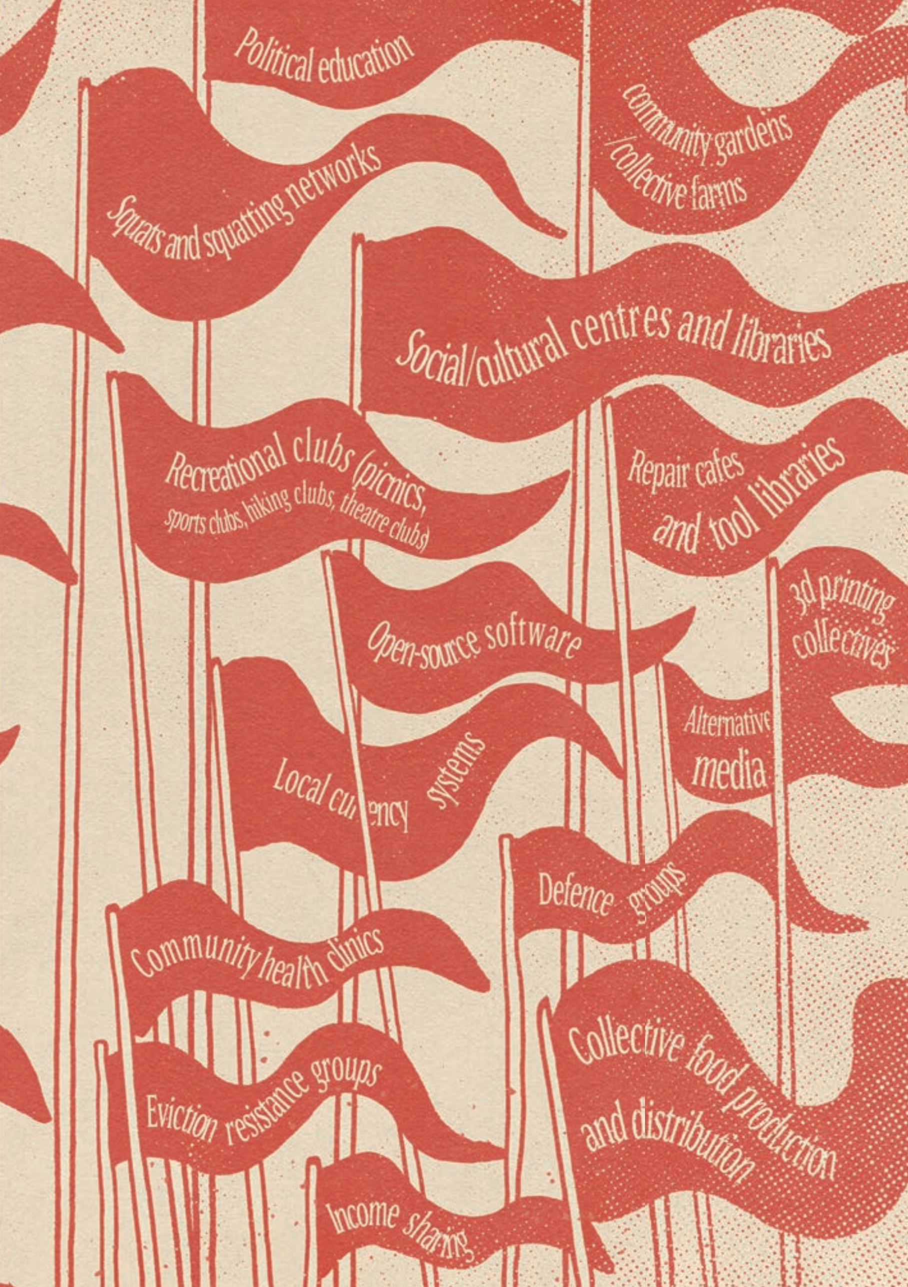
these crises and transform our world towards creating a liberatory and ecological post-capitalist society, something far worse could emerge. When crisis comes, are we positioned to recode the system? Unfortunately, the crises have so far been capitalised on by the far right and religious fundamentalists. As an antidote, we must offer the strategies and inspiration to give society the capacity to build an alternative.

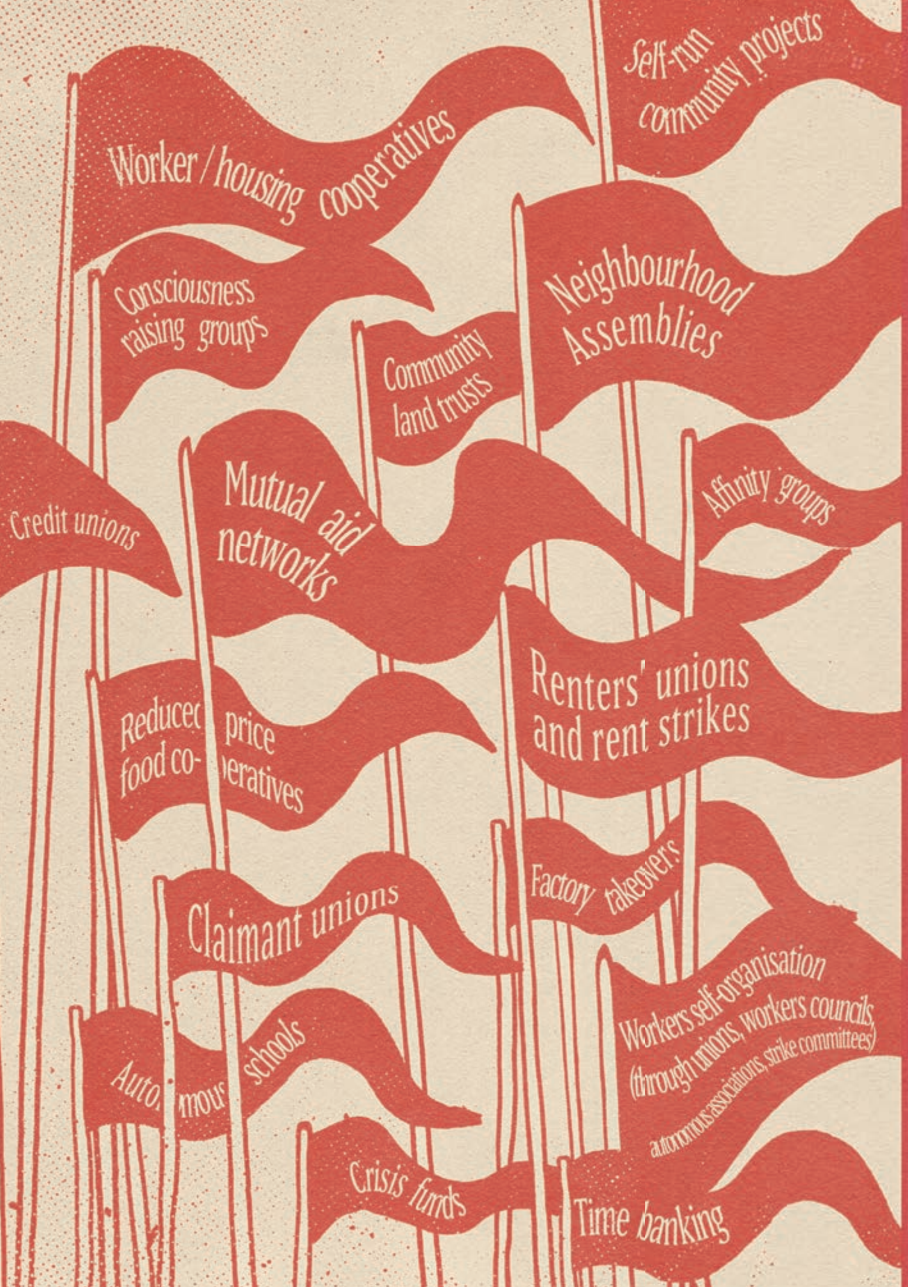
# WHAT IS THE SOLIDARITY ECONOMY STRATEGY?

The solidarity economy is a set of institutions and ways of organising anchored in social movement ecosystems and people power; it is both part of a strategy for revolution and a model for a world beyond the capitalist and state system – where communities share resources and govern themselves through participatory democracy, workers' self-management and ecologically sustainable practices.

All social movements that have brought about change have used the solidarity economy to some degree, even if the vast majority don't call it that. Building up the power and capacity of society to self-organise and operate autonomously from the state and capitalism is how movements can win.

The next two pages are all examples of solidarity economy practices.


Political education
community gardens /collective farms
Squats and squatting networks
Social/cultural centres and libraries
Recreational clubs (picnics, sports clubs, hiking clubs, theatre clubs)
Repair cafes and tool libraries
3d printing collectives
Open-source software
Alternative media
Local currency systems
Defence groups
Community health clinics
Collective food production and distribution
Eviction resistance groups
Income sharing


Worker / housing cooperatives
Self-run community projects
Consciousness raising groups
Community land trusts
Neighbourhood Assemblies
Credit unions
Mutual aid networks
Affinity groups
Renters' unions and rent strikes
Reducec price food co- erratives
Factory takeovers
Claimant unions
Workers self-organisation (through unions, workers councils, autonomous associations, strike committees)
Auto mous schools
Crisis funds
Time banking

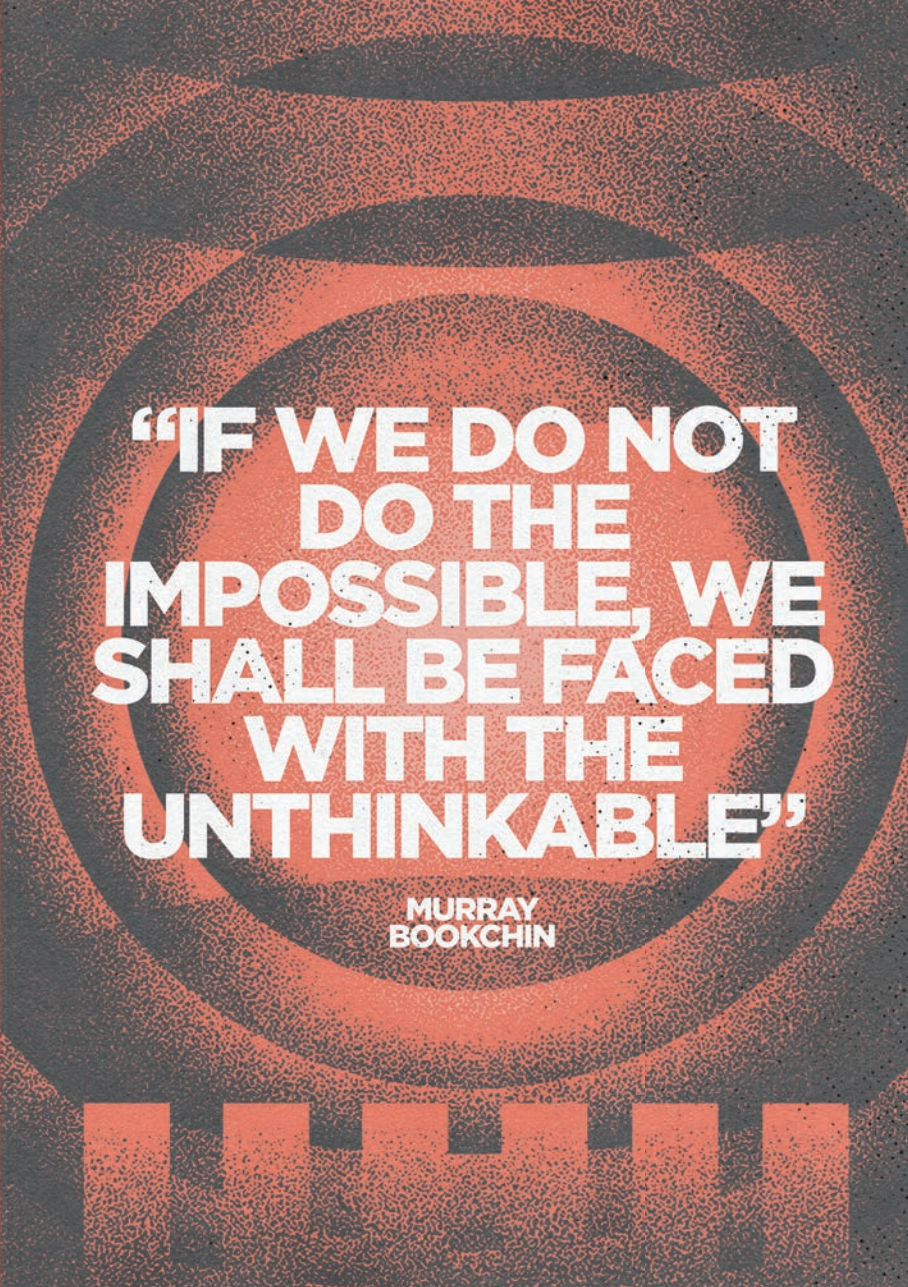
**We can build up our forces – the solidarity economy – through these strategies.**

**Operating in isolation, these institutions and forms of organisation can become detached from a broader vision and get recuperated by liberalism and capital. Together, they are the networks of solidarity that can sustain a revolutionary movement and make it capable of challenging state power – and ultimately wresting power from it.**

**In the long run, the aim is that these forces of the solidarity economy become so powerful that (probably at a point of crisis) they can wrestle control from the hands of the state into the hands of the people. While this rupture must happen – you can't simply evolve yourself out of capitalist and state systems – this is but the start of the process of radically transforming life, with all the complications and contradictions that come along with it. As the Zapatistas say, we must *"make the road by walking"*.**

This book is a primer on the solidarity economy. It is an illustrated anthology of different aspects and practices. Importantly, it should be seen as partial. There are many things that we could not cover or expand on; therefore, this book is most useful as a starting point for further reading. It is primarily aimed at people who are new to the concepts around the solidarity economy, but it will also be useful for those with more experience.

In the coming years, the structures and practices of the solidarity economy are going to be both crucial for our survival – as the climate catastrophe evolves and worsens – as well as creating resilient mass movements that can transform the system. We hope, therefore, that this book goes some way to help spread ideas of how we can overcome capitalism and the nation-state model, and create a politics of hope, building the psychological conditions and collective spaces to radically re-imagine society.



“IF WE DO NOT DO THE IMPOSSIBLE, WE SHALL BE FACED WITH THE UNTHINKABLE”

MURRAY
BOOKCHIN

"So we need to go beyond 'just helping,' to working toward some sort of different economy, a survival economy...

...in some parts of the world, they call it a 'solidarity economy' to help them survive capitalism. Whatever it's called, we need to have that so we're not totally dependent on the capitalist state."

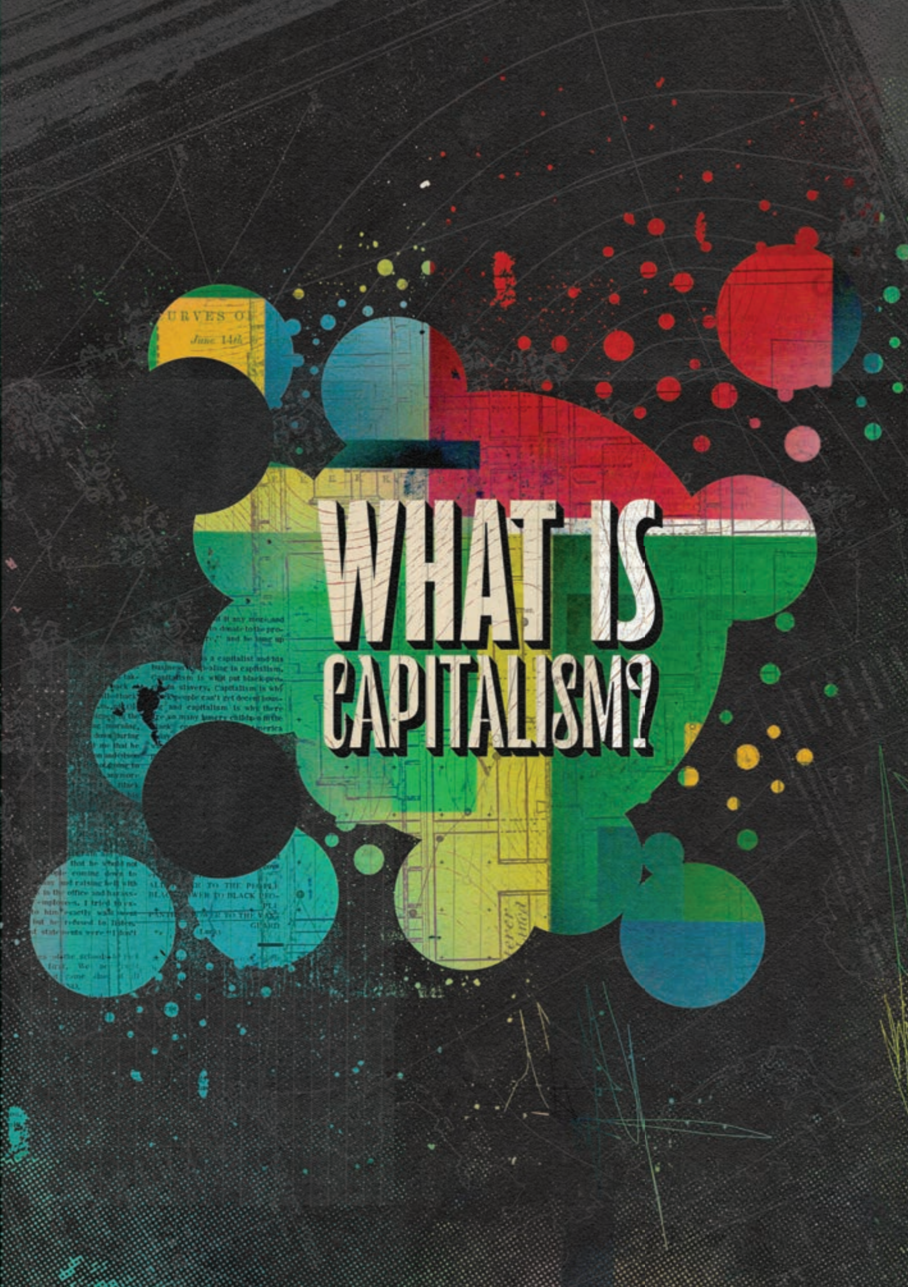
Lorenzo Kom boa Ervin

Former Black Panther Party prisoner.[1]

# Chapter 2

# Capitalism

## Part 1: Introduction to the solidarity economy


WHAT IS
CAPITALISM?

Capitalism is a social and economic power system characterised by several key principles:

- *Private ownership and control of the means of production, sometimes called capital – things that exist to make more money (including factories, farms, transport, the internet and land).*
- *The exploitation of wage labour for profit.*
- *Production geared towards profit.*

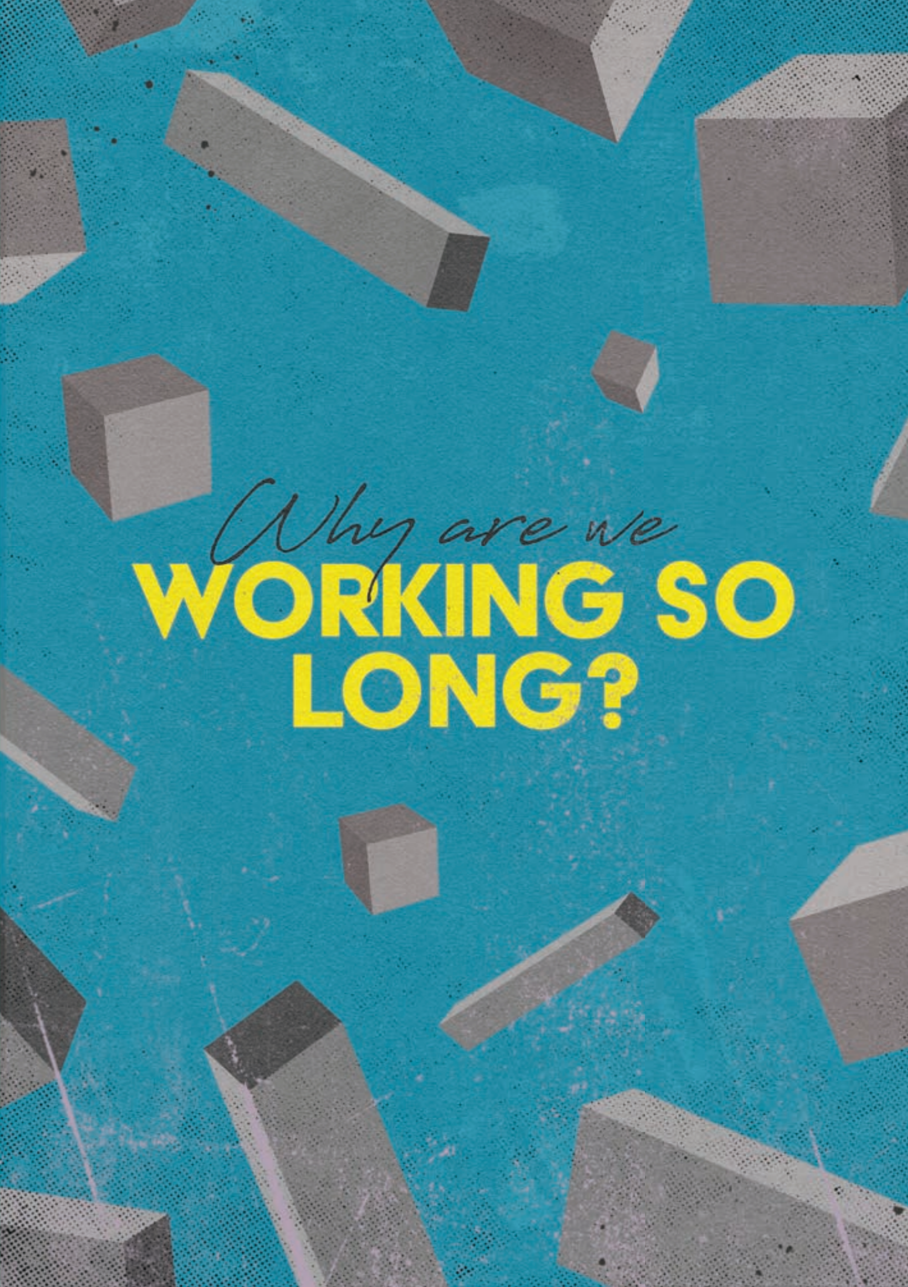
In capitalist society, most capital is owned or controlled by a small number of people: the owning, boss, or capitalist class. Often, this is indirectly via shares. Everyone else must sell their labour to capitalists in exchange for a wage.

This economic system consolidates economic and political power into the hands of very few people. The dynamics of imperialism and neo-colonialism are deeply interwoven with the capitalist-state system, resulting in vast disparities in global wealth distribution. Eight men own the same wealth as the 3.6 billion people who make up the poorest half of humanity.[2] Meanwhile, around 735 million people are in a state of chronic hunger, and 2.4 billion face moderate to severe food insecurity, lacking consistent access to adequate nourishment – although there is sufficient food produced to feed 1.5 times the world's population.[3] In addition, tens of millions of people die each year due to lack of clean water, hunger, and curable diseases.[4] This is not even counting the billions more people whose lives are cut unnaturally short by the effects of living a stressful existence as they scramble to survive. This disparity highlights the contradictions of a system that simultaneously produces abundance and scarcity.

## Chapter 3

# Bullshit jobs

### Part 1: Introduction to the solidarity economy



# *Why are we* WORKING SO LONG?

In the 1930s, British economist John Maynard Keynes predicted that by the millennium technology would have advanced sufficiently to enable a 15-hour workweek for everyone.[5] Since then, we have witnessed huge productivity gains, massive advancement in technology, and the workforce nearly doubling as it becomes the norm for women to work (although they continue to perform a disproportionate amount of unpaid social reproductive labour in the home).

Despite this, the workweek hasn't changed that much. Actually, we've seen a roll-back in workers' rights since the 1980s. Instead, the profits from these productivity gains have been syphoned off to the super-rich.

While 100 years ago, most jobs were necessary to meet people's needs, now they are far less so. The COVID pandemic gives us some indication of the amount of necessary labour - just 33% of the total workforce in the UK were considered 'key workers.'[6]

*"We have become a civilization based on work — not even 'productive work' but work as an end and meaning in itself."*

*David Graeber*[8]

Angry Workers, in their overview of UK jobs, estimates that just 20% of the adult population in the UK works in socially useful jobs, with the other 80% working in unproductive jobs tied to the financial economy.[7]

David Graeber explained this through his concept of 'bullshit jobs', the idea that as the labour needed for necessary work has declined, capitalism has created a multitude of meaningless jobs for the sake of keeping people working.

Capital operates on a straightforward principle: incessant growth. It continuously seeks new markets and opportunities for exploitation - we must all be working at maximum capacity, even if that work shouldn't be happening. With a "normal" annual growth rate of 3%, the amount of economic activity doubles in size approximately every 23 years, resulting in a 20-fold increase over 101 years. If the economy fails to achieve this growth rate, it triggers a crisis.

But growth for the sake of growth is the ideology of the cancer cell. Ecological boundaries dictate that we must live within the limits of the earth, or else we face complete disaster. Unemployment should not be a problem. Let's imagine we had an economy where we de-commodified the necessities of life: housing, food, education, healthcare and transport could all be made free at the point of use (an irreducible minimum). We could share this labour and drastically reduce the workweek for everyone. Automation could then be put towards increased free time, rather than greater profits for the super-rich.

If we built society around meeting human needs in this way, we could all be living in a world of leisure and abundance. This wouldn't just be a nice thing to happen: to ensure humanity's survival in the face of impending climate and ecological crisis, we *must* radically transform the global economic system. To save the world, we simply *have to* stop working in the way we have been doing.[9]

# Chapter 4

# Mutual aid

## Part 2: Solidarity economy practices

# Mutual AID

Mutual aid is where people in an area or a community come together to support one another, collectively meeting each other's needs without the help of official bodies like the state or NGOs. Mutual aid is a horizontal mode of organisation, aiming to break down hierarchies and put in place collective decision making. The concept of mutual aid encompasses a wide variety of practices; there is no one catch-all term or definition, it is a universal practice rather than a singular concept.[10]

The idea of solidarity (as opposed to charity) underpins mutual aid. Solidarity entails resources being unconditionally shared, whereas charity is often conditional and means-tested – which also serves to strip power and autonomy from those in need.

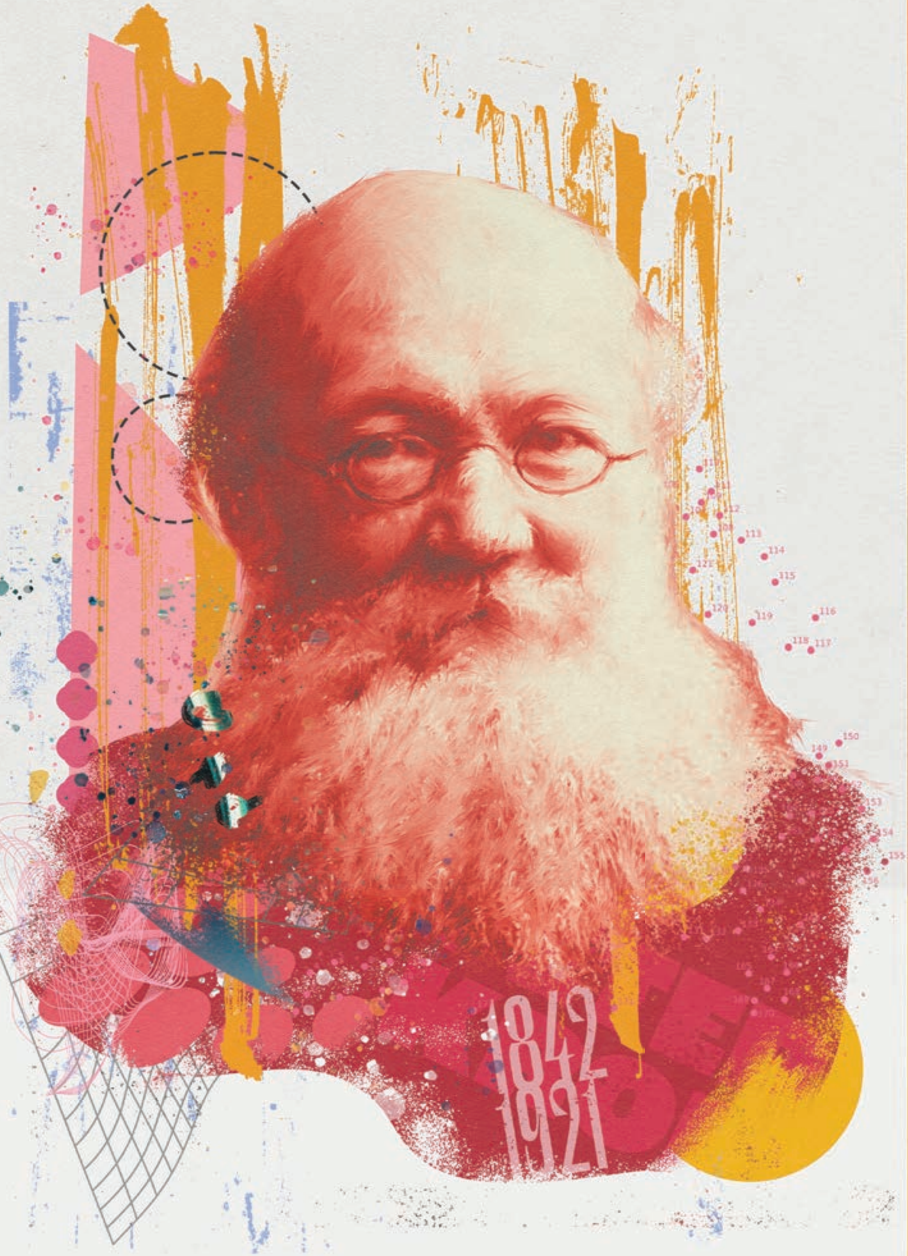
Mutual aid is not a new concept: it has been present in human and animal social relations throughout history. As a term, it was popularised by Peter Kropotkin in *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, which argued that reciprocal care and sociability is as much a factor in the evolution of organic life as "survival of the fittest". Capitalism has disrupted this tendency within humans. As systems of private property and wage labour were created, they have led to a greater rift from our natural tendency to care for each other.[11]

## Mutual aid in natural disasters

In the face of disasters – whether they be natural like hurricanes, earthquakes or wildfires, or pandemics like COVID-19 – mutual aid groups often emerge organically, fuelled by solidarity and a desire to help one another.

In 2005, after Hurricane Katrina, the people of New Orleans were abandoned by the government. With hundreds dying, and scarce resources, people came together: the vast majority of rescues were carried out by New Orleans residents, often against orders from authorities.[13]

Founded by an anarchist and a former Black Panther, the Common Ground Collective was set up to fill the gaps after the hurricane, and empower people. It ran health clinics, collected rubbish, served

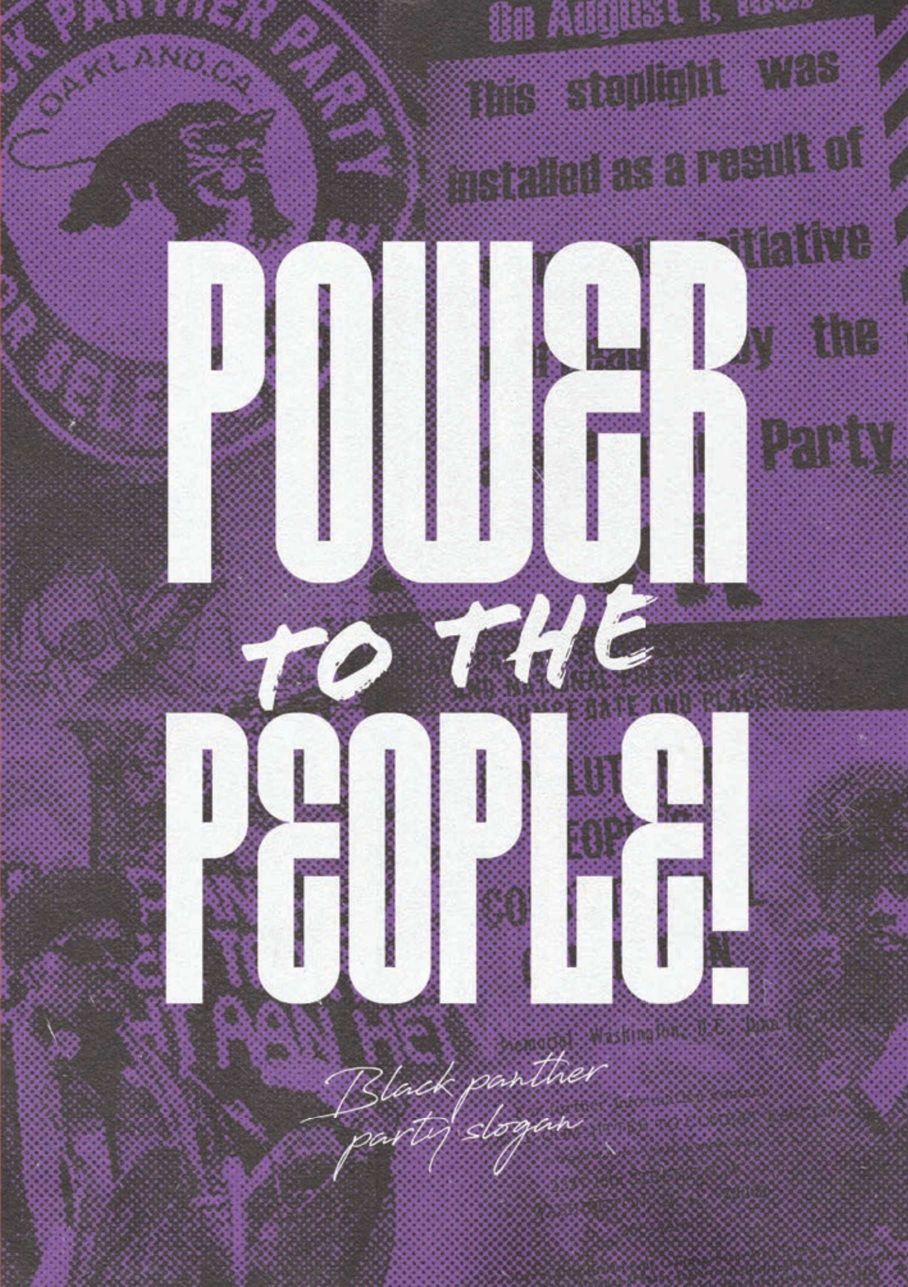

1842
1921

"THERE IS AN IMMENSE AMOUNT OF WARFARE AND EXTERMINATION GOING ON AMIDST VARIOUS SPECIES; THERE IS, AT THE SAME TIME, AS MUCH, OR PERHAPS EVEN MORE, OF MUTUAL SUPPORT, MUTUAL AID, AND MUTUAL DEFENCE... SOCIABILITY IS AS MUCH A LAW OF NATURE AS MUTUAL STRUGGLE."

*Peter Kropotkin*[12]

food, started schools, built affordable housing and launched worker co-ops. In the first three years, 23,000 volunteers participated in this vast mutual aid organisation.[14]

This is just one example, but mutual aid is everywhere – every single social movement that has created change and built people's power has included it, even if it's not recognised as such. From communities coming together in support of strikes, the networks created in opposition to the Poll Tax in 1990 to letter writing to prisoners and sharing food – our desire to help one another is everywhere.


PANTHER PARTY
OAKLAND, CA
This stoplight was
installed as a result of
itiative
the
Party
Washington

# POWER

TO THE

# PEOPLE!

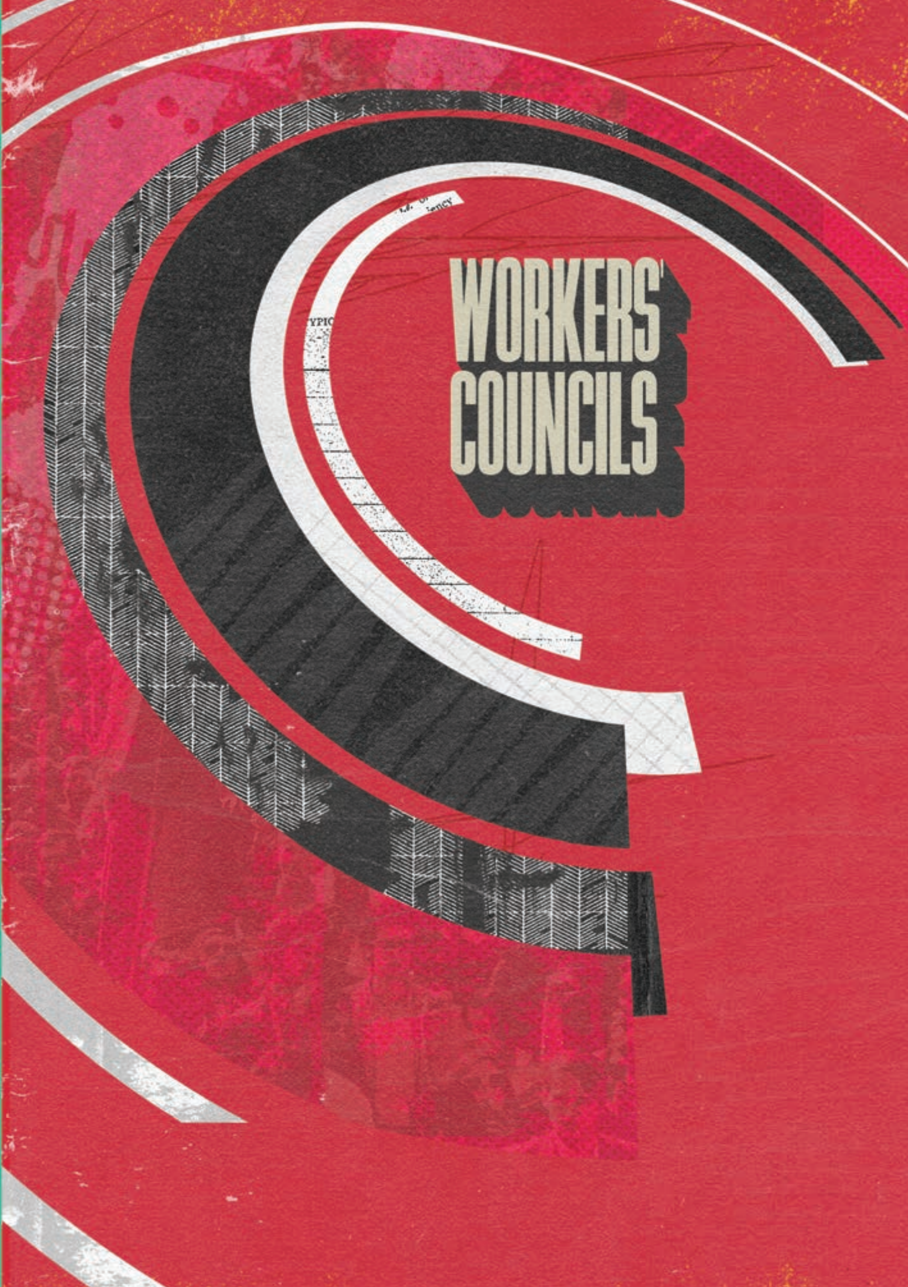
Black panther
party slogan

# Chapter 5

# Workers' councils

## Part 2: Solidarity economy practices

# WORKERS' COUNCILS



In capitalism, workplaces are organised as hierarchical top-down command structures. In a post-capitalist solidarity economy, however, the economy would be organised through self-managed workplaces, where workers democratically control and decide the priorities and direction of their workplace and industry (in some models, without markets and money). This is done through an organisation called a workers' council.

A workers' council is a way that a workplace or industry is governed by everyone in the workplace. Workers exercise decision-making power directly, either by making decisions themselves in assemblies, which the councils then carry out, or through mandated and recallable delegates who are instructed how to act by the assemblies that select them.

As such, it differs markedly from parliamentary democracy: in this democracy of councils, people participate as individuals in decisions and policies that affect them rather than through elected representatives. This practice is also called workers' control or workers' self-management.

### WORKERS COUNCILS DECIDE:

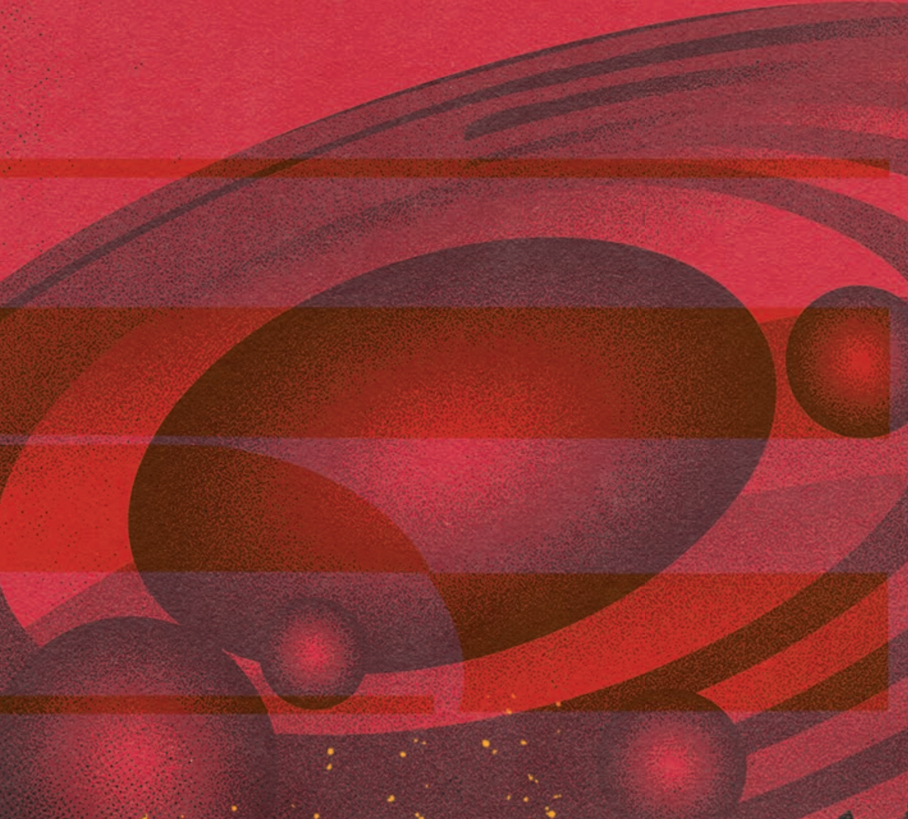
- What to produce and how
- Workplace guidance
- Strategic planning

- How to divide up tasks in an equitable way so that jobs are balanced for empowerment, meaning everyone has the knowledge and confidence to participate in the running of the workplace (called balanced job complexes).[15]
- Elect rotating and recallable delegates to industrial federations, to coordinate on a larger scale between workplaces and formulate planning for the whole economy (along with consumer councils) through participatory planning.[16]

At national scale, it would be common for workplaces to be made up of several smaller interconnected subdivisions based on departments or work teams. These units could then send rotating, recallable, and mandated delegates to the workplace-wide council. Workplace-wide assemblies would be held regularly and would formulate policy, but

the administration would be carried out by the workplace-wide council.

To integrate workers' councils within a wider governing structure, policy-making and administration would be carried out by local bodies based in neighbourhoods using participatory democracy and conferderalism, whilst production is coordinated by worker and consumer councils with participatory planning.



# WORKERS COUNCILS & REVOLUTION

Workers' councils are not only how production is directly managed by workers. They have also been an important way for getting to this self-managed society through coordinating revolution.

Workplace-based, directly democratic organisations, along with confederated neighbourhood assemblies, emerge time and time again in history, usually in periods of revolution or crisis, and often appear (at least from the outside) spontaneously as a structure for carrying out revolutionary change. Some are limited – either because they lasted for a very short amount of time or because they were very hierarchical – but others administered and continue to administer vast areas with millions of people.

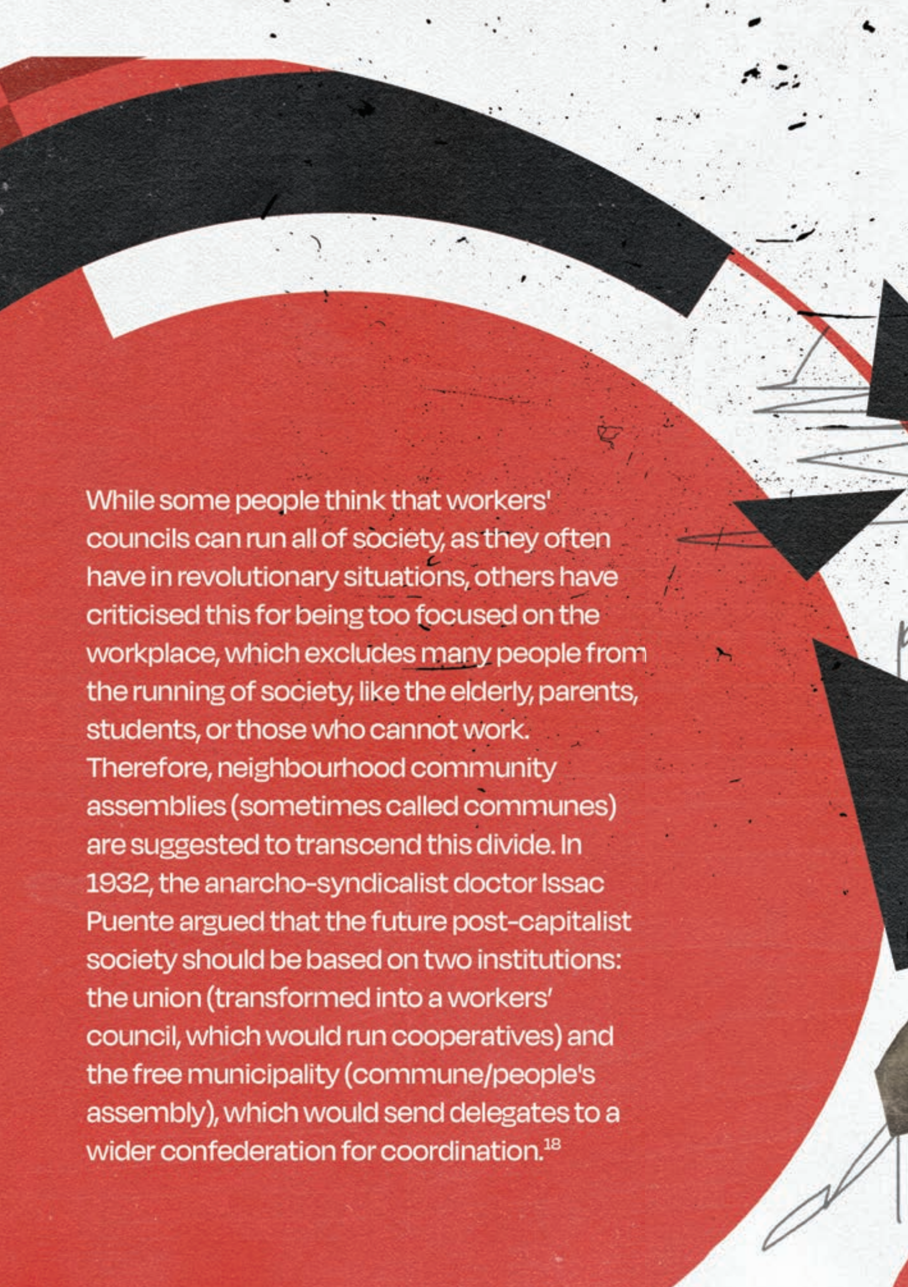
Instances of popular assemblies and workers councils can be found throughout history: The French Revolution (1790–1793), Paris Commune (1871), Russia (1905 and 1917-1921), Kronstadt (1921), the Mexican Revolution (1910-19), Revolutionary Ukraine (1918-21), the Shinmin Autonomous Province (1929-31), Spain (1936-37), the Shanghai Commune (1967), France (1968) and Italy (1970s) – all had popular assemblies or workers' councils. Workers' councils also appeared in a huge number of places during and following the First World War - most significantly in Germany.

A similar upsurge of the rank and file through councils emerged in Eastern Europe against the state socialist governments there, such as in 1956 in Hungary, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1944–1947, 1956 and 1980-81.

More recently, we can see councils emerging in the Portuguese Revolution (1974-5), Chile (1970-1973), China (1989), Argentina (2001-03), Chiapas (1994-present) and Rojava (2012-present) to name just a few examples.

Murray Bookchin

"From the largely medieval peasant wars of the sixteenth century Reformation to the modern uprisings of industrial workers and peasants, oppressed peoples have created their own popular forms of community association – potentially the popular infrastructure of a new society... During the course of the revolutions, these associations took the institutional form of local assemblies... or representative councils of mandated recallable deputies."[17]



While some people think that workers' councils can run all of society, as they often have in revolutionary situations, others have criticised this for being too focused on the workplace, which excludes many people from the running of society, like the elderly, parents, students, or those who cannot work. Therefore, neighbourhood community assemblies (sometimes called communes) are suggested to transcend this divide. In 1932, the anarcho-syndicalist doctor Issac Puente argued that the future post-capitalist society should be based on two institutions: the union (transformed into a workers' council, which would run cooperatives) and the free municipality (commune/people's assembly), which would send delegates to a wider confederation for coordination.[18]

**“The municipality is the authentic revolutionary government.”** Friends of Durruti Group, 1937[19]

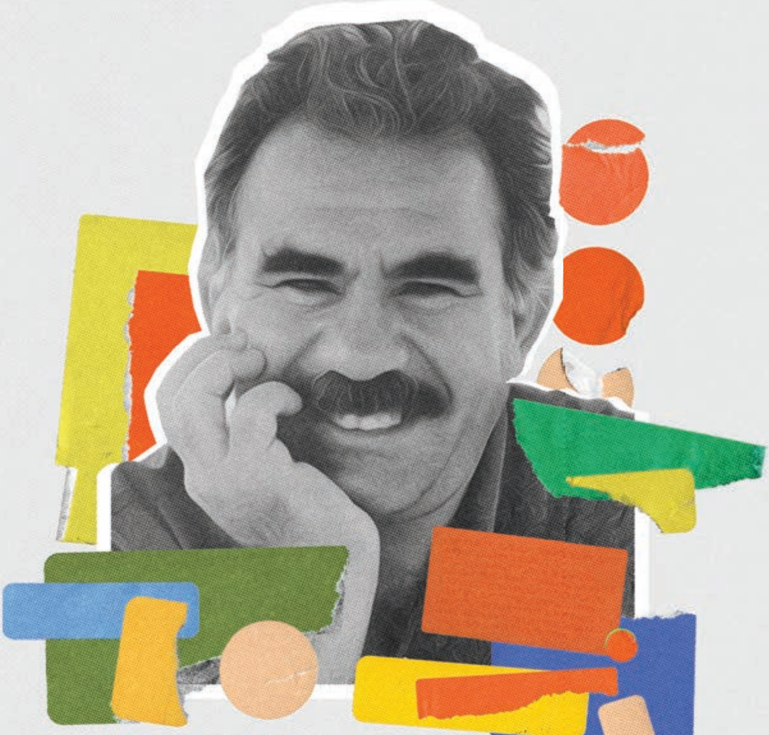
# Chapter 6

# Confederalism

## Part 2: Solidarity economy practices

# CONFEDERALISM

## What is it?



# Abdullah Öcalan

“Democratic confederalism is a non-state social paradigm. It is not controlled by a state. .... (it) is based on grassroots participation. Its decision-making processes lie with the communities. Higher levels only serve the coordination and implementation of the will of the communities that send their delegates to the general assemblies. For a limited space of time they are both mouthpiece and executive institution. However, the basic power of decision rests with the local grassroots institutions.”[20]

Confederalism's decision-making is based on federated autonomous participatory councils, communes, and assemblies. These popular assemblies, based in workplaces or neighbourhoods, send recallable delegates to a network of administrative, local, and regional confederal councils that comprise the communal polity – a commune of communes.

For example, at the base level, you might have a commune based in a neighbourhood of roughly 150 people. Delegates from this commune could then be sent to municipal, regional, and territorial councils. A similar thing could happen with workers councils and industrial federations.

These councils do not have a policy-making function; rather, their role is purely administrative. The delegates are, therefore, strictly mandated by the base commune to perform specific tasks, and their role is to coordinate and administer the policies that come from the base commune/assemblies.

They do not have the power to make policy themselves, unlike under representative democracy. This reorders power: rather than decisions coming from the top down, decisions are made from the bottom up, meaning the polity is based on self-administration – as people are governing themselves.

Mechanisms are normally created to stop the monopolisation of power and a bureaucracy developing by devolving power to the base assemblies/communes – and thus individuals.

These include:

- Immediate recall of delegates by the base units to whom they are directly accountable.
- Fixed mandates (i.e., the delegates are strictly instructed to do specific things by the base assemblies).
- Council delegates' political duties should be done alongside other work to prevent the development of a bureaucracy and keep them accountable and integrated with the wider population.
- Very short time frames on terms.

It's also important that there would be a social charter and constitution, which would protect people's freedoms and the environment, as well as lay out the limits and different responsibilities the governance institutions have.[22] This helps protect the individual and gives a framework in which the communal system operates – and a set of "guiding principles" by which the polity would work (for example, the above limits on delegates).

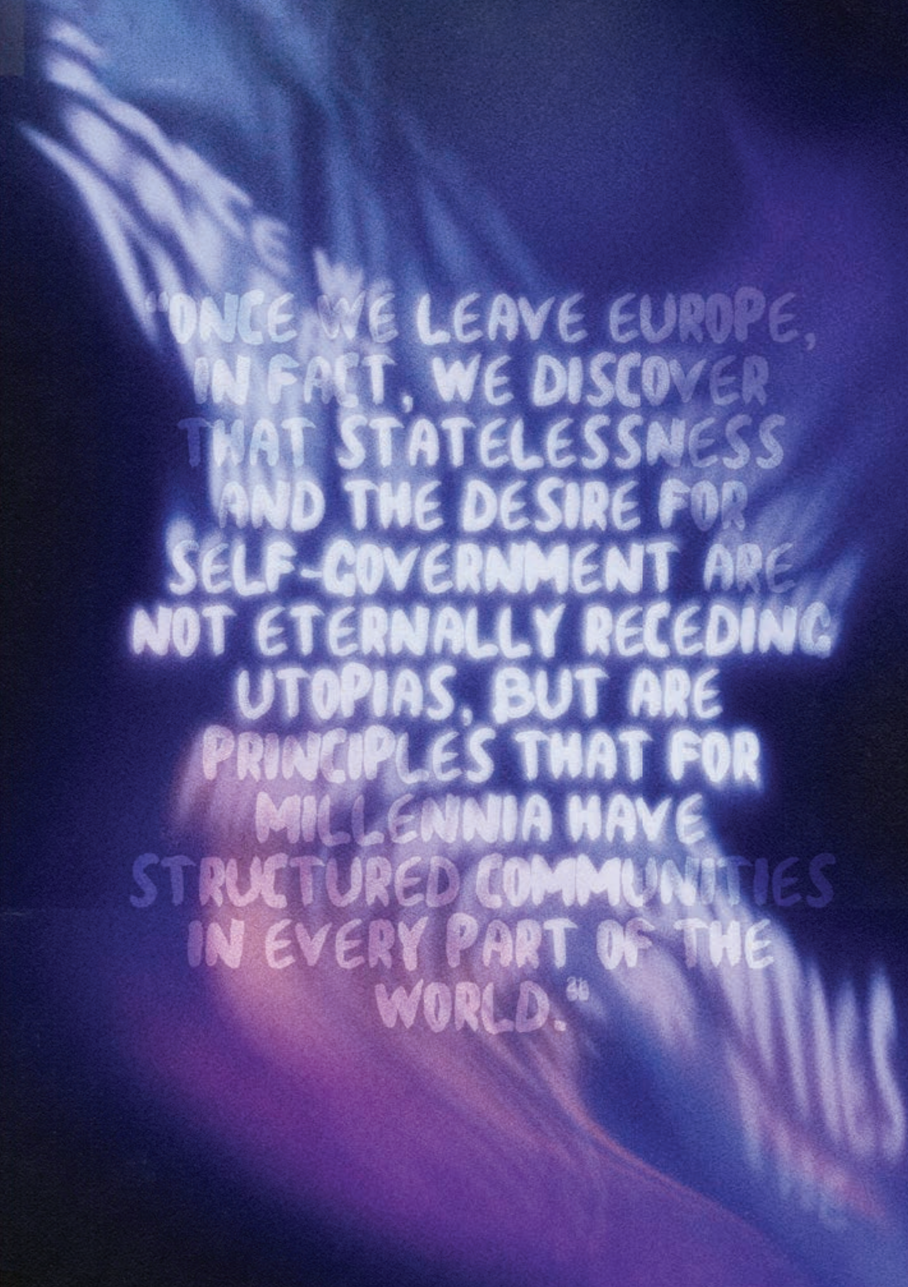
This is a federated participatory polity; a direct democracy, but by using delegates and

confederation, this polity could theoretically encompass the whole world into an international "commune of communes" whilst still retaining political power at the local level.

This federated commune system combines centralisation and decentralisation to create an organised society without the state, based on grassroots participatory democracy.[23]

# COMMUNE OF COMMUNES

Silvia
Federici



"ONCE WE LEAVE EUROPE, IN FACT, WE DISCOVER THAT STATELESSNESS AND THE DESIRE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT ARE NOT ETERNALLY RECEDING UTOPIAS, BUT ARE PRINCIPLES THAT FOR MILLENNIA HAVE STRUCTURED COMMUNITIES IN EVERY PART OF THE WORLD.[26]

# Chapter 7

# Trade unions

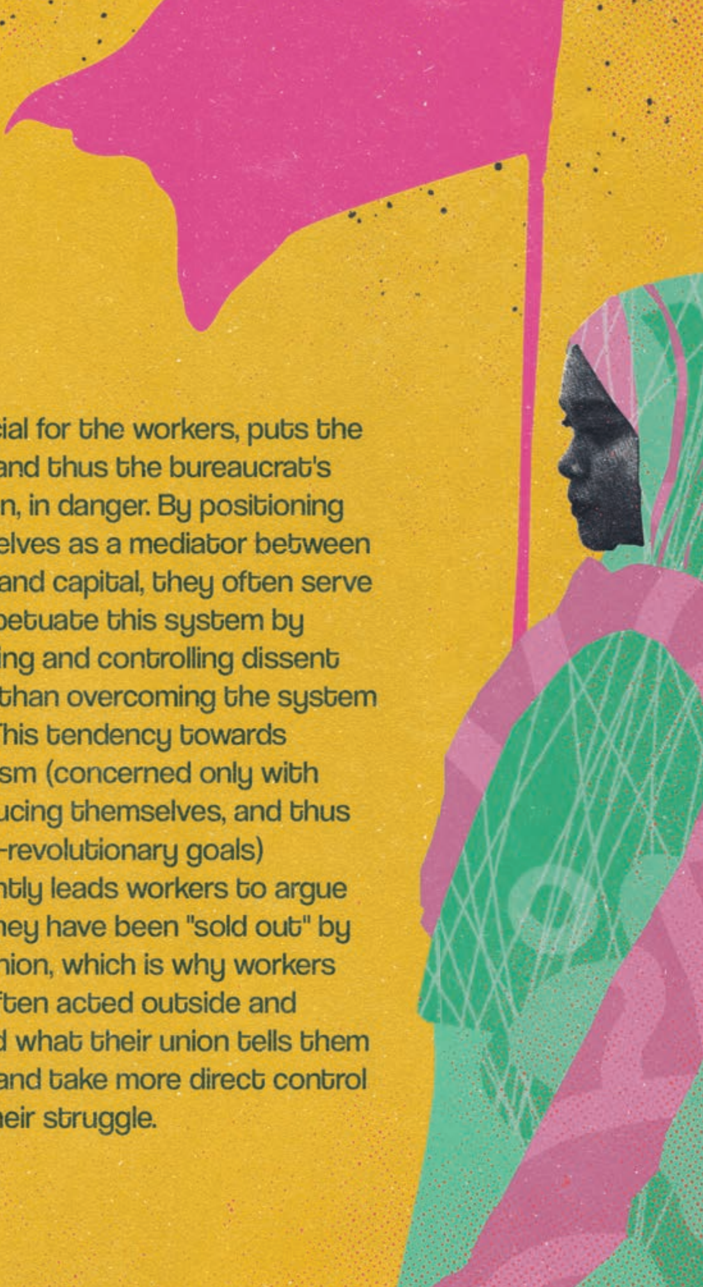
Part 2: Solidarity economy practices

# TRADE UNIONS

Sometimes called resistance societies or workers' associations

Since the beginning of industrial production, workers have organised themselves into unions (sometimes called resistance societies or workers' associations) to fight for better pay and conditions, reduced working time, and improved safety. More broadly, they have been used to defend and advance workers' interests in contrast to the interest of capitalists, to whose interests they are structurally opposed. Sometimes, workers, through unions, have even gone so far as to expropriate workplaces and take over the organisation of the economy without bosses.

Workers' unions are a vital way that radical transformations in society have come about, and capitalism has been significantly shaped by workers' resistance through unions. Whilst they can be seen as a type of self-organised mutual benefit society based on solidarity and mutual aid, they are not synonymous with the working class and its interests. Unions are often large bureaucratic organisations with a large paid workforce, meaning they have an interest in perpetuating themselves, sometimes to the determinant of their members (in a similar way to non-profits).[24] This leads to a level of conservatism: the union is less likely to engage in a struggle that, whilst it might be



beneficial for the workers, puts the union, and thus the bureaucrat's position, in danger. By positioning themselves as a mediator between labour and capital, they often serve to perpetuate this system by managing and controlling dissent rather than overcoming the system itself. This tendency towards reformism (concerned only with reproducing themselves, and thus on non-revolutionary goals) frequently leads workers to argue that they have been "sold out" by their union, which is why workers have often acted outside and beyond what their union tells them to do, and take more direct control over their struggle.

GUYS & ST
WANT A

Whilst more radical unions, like the anarcho-syndicalist CNT in Spain, have counteracted this tendency – by, for instance, having very few and low paid members of staff and deliberately keeping their strike fund low to reduce conservative thinking – these same bureaucratic tendencies also emerged even here.[25]

Just because problems exist does not mean unions are entirely bad: they are one of the most important ways mass transformations of society have come about. These types of problems also exist within coops, mutual aid groups and all other institutions of the solidarity economy, but by being aware of these tendencies, we can encourage other courses of action. For example, in many instances, workers have taken control of their struggle more directly through workers councils, bypassing conservative union bureaucracy.

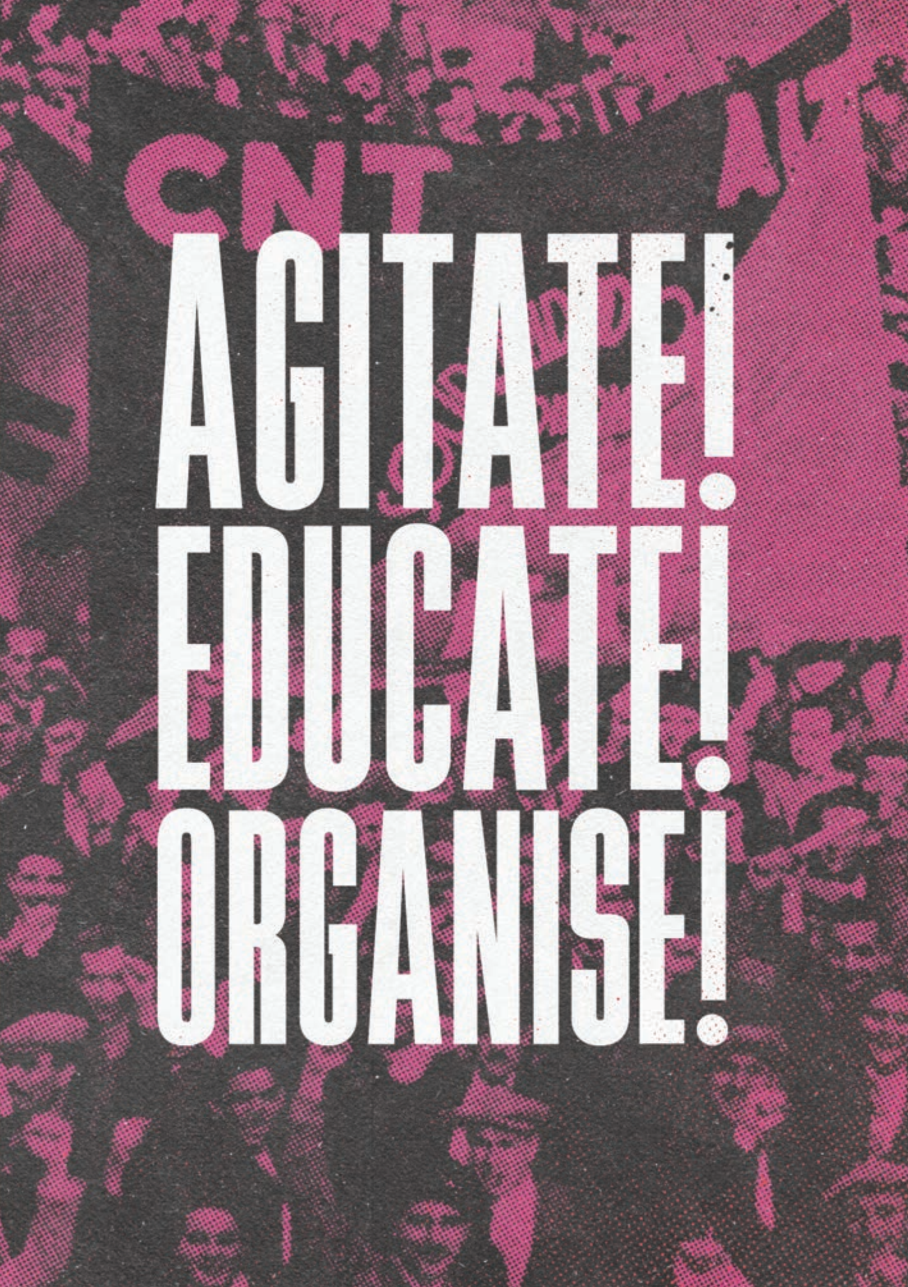
# RENTERS UNIONS

A similar division that exists between workers and bosses/capitalists also exists between landlords and renters. A renters' union (or tenants' union) is a group of tenants who come together to collectively wield their power as renters against landlords and management/development companies. They are democratic organisations that improve conditions in their homes, resist evictions, carry out rent strikes, spread resources about people's rights, address issues that landlords ignore, squat buildings, build housing cooperatives and advocate for wider changes – like rent controls, combating homelessness and the building of affordable homes. Renters' unions help people develop confidence and capacity by collectively empowering people to take direct action without the help of third parties.

Renters' unions – for example, Living Rent and London Renters Union – have gained prominence in recent years, particularly in response to the lack of affordable housing and precarious rental conditions. It's often unhelpful to make a clear delineation between the two union types: historically, workers' and tenants' struggles are closely interwoven in a broader struggle for economic and social justice. For instance, the 100,000-strong Barcelona rent strike of 1931 laid the groundwork for worker organising in the subsequent years, and the revolution in 1936.[26]

# WHAT IS A RENT STRIKE?

In a rent strike, a group of tenants come together and refuse to pay rent to force a specific set of demands to be met. There have been many instances of rent strikes throughout history, from Glasgow in 1915 to Liverpool in 1972, to the 1980s in South Africa to more recently in the UK, where students have managed to gain massive concessions and rent reductions from carrying out a succession of rent strikes in university halls.



# AGITATE!
# EDUCATE!
# ORGANISE!

# Chapter 8

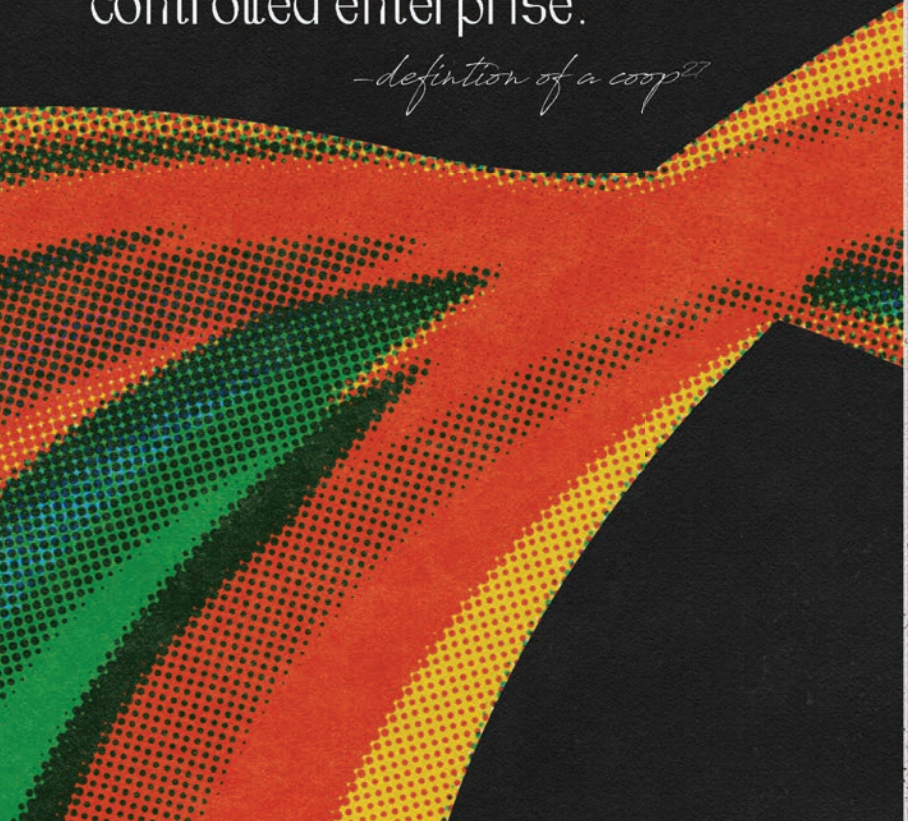
# Cooperatives

## Part 2: Solidarity economy practices

# COOPS

An autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise.

*—defintion of a coop*[27]



# WORKER cooperatives

*A workers' cooperative is a coop that is owned and self-managed by the workers of the firm. The key idea is that those who produce the wealth of a business – the workers – should at least take a fair share of the profit, and even control how production is run.*

*There are several key features of a workers' coop that differentiate it from other co-ops and businesses.*

1. *In a worker's coop, there is democratic self-management. This means each worker has an equal say in running the coop – most often on the principle of one member, one vote – compared to capitalist companies, where the number of shares you own determines the amount of control you have (and most workers have no share, and thus no control).*

2

*Workers own the business, meaning profits are shared. This means that rather than profits going to shareholders, who may have no other connection to the business other than providing capital, in a coop, those who actually produce the wealth of the business share the profits.*

## Consumer Cooperative

*This is a coop owned and controlled by the people who use their services. Cooperation Town and credit unions are examples of this type of coop.*

*Without wanting to generalise, democracy in a consumer coop is often shallower and representative when compared to the more participatory democracy of worker coops.*

## Producer Cooperative

*A cooperative of independent producers like farmers, who join to process or market their goods collectively. This allows them to achieve economies of scale, which would be harder to gain alone. These are often combined with purchasing cooperatives – for example, farmers who collectively purchase expensive tools to share.*

## Multi-stakeholder

*This is a cooperative owned and controlled by multiple types of members. For example, if a hospital were a cooperative, it might have patients, workers, and those in the local community as stakeholders in the cooperative, as all of these people are affected and should have a say (perhaps to different degrees).*

## Housing cooperative

*A cooperative where members collectively own and manage their housing. Members tend to buy a nominal £1 share, which they sell when they leave, and pay rent towards the cooperative for repairs, upkeep or paying off a mortgage. Often, this rent is very low due to economies of scale and the lack of a landlord. Crucially, housing is not treated as an asset for people to make money on and horde. They can also be combined with Community Land Trusts (CLTs) to prevent gentrification.*

*Of course, cooperative production under capitalism is very different to cooperative self-management of production at the level of the workplace and society as a whole, even if many of the cooperatives in capitalism may aspire to this degree of self-management at the society-wide level.*

*How the coop behaves can be influenced by how the wider economy and society is structured:*

- *Market vs central planning vs participatory planning*
- *Property structure: public, cooperative or commons-based*
- *Hierarchical vs self-managed*
- *Remuneration: money vs labour vouchers vs free supply*

*It is, therefore, important to create other centres of popular power that can overthrow capitalism rather than thinking we can purely outcompete it through cooperatives.*

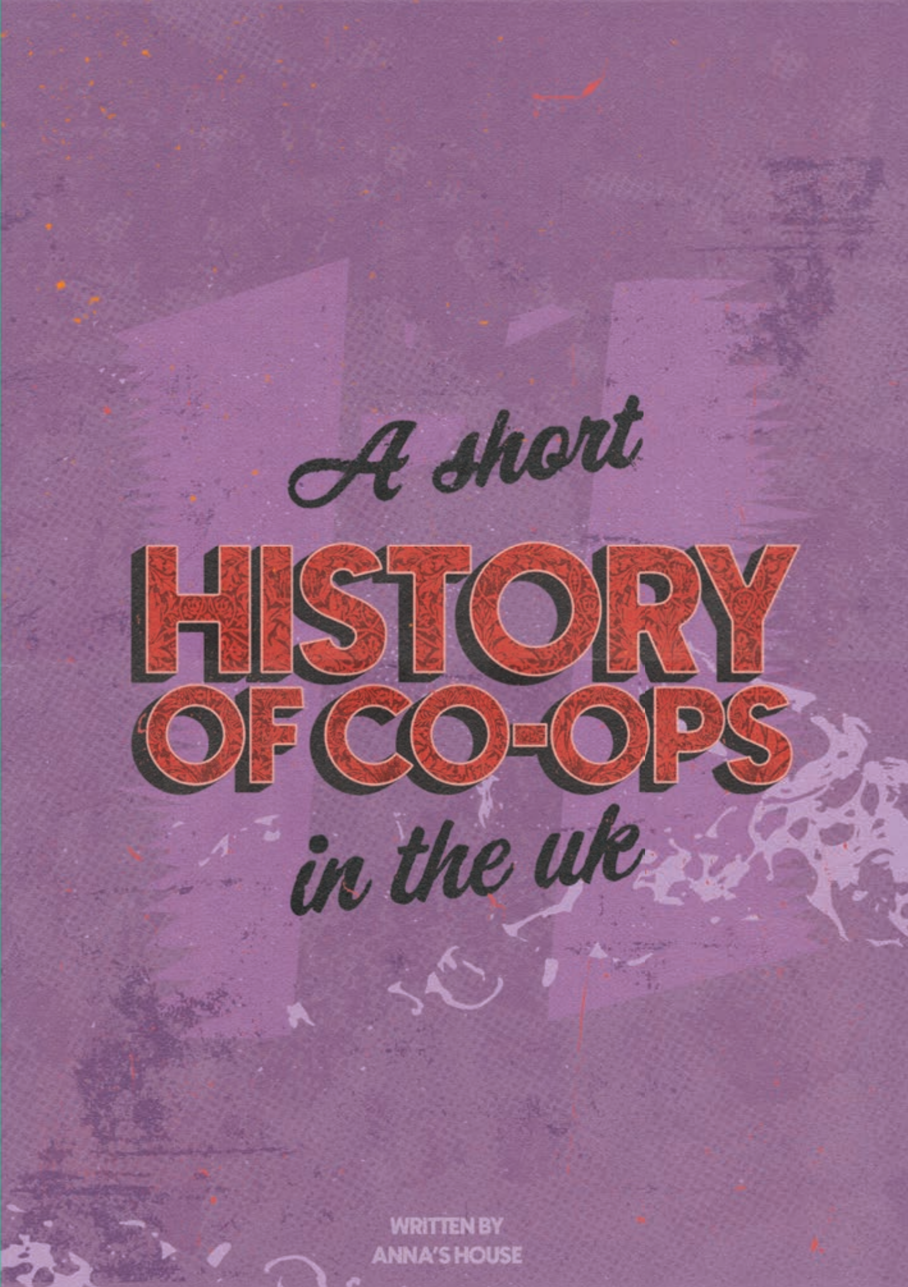
**“WORK FOR US,** poor creature who thinks you can improve your lot by co-operatives without daring to touch at the same time, property, taxation, and the state! **KEEP THEM UP – AND REMAIN THEIR SLAVE!”**[28]

*-Peter Kropotkin*

# Chapter 9

# History of coops

## Part 2: Solidarity economy practices



# A short HISTORY OF CO-OPS in the uk

WRITTEN BY
ANNA'S HOUSE

The UK cooperative movement is often said to have started with the Rochdale Pioneers, but cooperatives have been in existence for at least 500 years, growing alongside capitalism. The earliest self-identified cooperative we know of was the Shore Porters Society, founded in Aberdeen in 1498 by a group of porters who unloaded ships.[29]

Robert Owen was an important early coop pioneer. He was a “benevolent autocrat” who provided living wages to employees, a decent work environment, abolition of child labour and education for workers' children. His New Lanark experiment was held up as a viable moral alternative to the worst brutality of capitalism. In Owen's vision, society would be made up of a commonwealth of secular, self-governing and self-sufficient 'villages of cooperation', each of around 1,000 people, where industry and enterprise for the common good would provide prosperity for all. In the 1820s/30s, Owenites set up utopian communities and co-ops as social experiments. But Owen was a reformer: he sought to change society by working with the ruling class.

In France a couple of decades later, French anarchist philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was advancing similar ideas around coops.

In Proudhon's vision, factories would be run on direct democracy, while self-employed artisans, peasants and coops would trade their products on the market. The state would be abolished, and society would organise through a federation of free communes. Instead of waiting for the revolution, the coops were supposed to eventually grow so large they would displace the capitalist economy. His ideas were prominent at the start of the 1st International and during the Paris Commune. He influenced Marxism, Bakunin's collectivist anarchism and Kropotkin's anarchist communism; however, he was also criticised by these thinkers, not least because of his advocacy of the retention of the market and money in a post-capitalist future and his gradualist view of revolution.

# Rochdale Pioneers

In 1844, 28 people from Owenite and Chartist backgrounds set up The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers. The rules they formalised through the Rochdale Principles would become a model for others; the seven cooperative principles (with some minor amendments) are still the basis for cooperatives today. Within a decade, there were over a thousand cooperative stores operating on similar principles; the aim was to create fully self-supporting communities on land they themselves would own.

The Rochdale system of dividends made it economically sensible for people to become members of coops and invest and trade with them. By the late 19th century, the success of the Rochdale model meant substantial dividends: the co-ops were huge, the movement very rich, with a vast number of members. It had become a social and economic institution, particularly in northern industrial towns. In the 1860s and 1870s, coops were still led by high ideals, but these ideals were already rare by the 1880s. From the 1890s, radical tendencies who were still influenced by Owenite thinking clashed with 'dividend hunters' for the soul of the movement. By this point, the coops had become a proto-welfare state, providing healthcare, education, and social activities like tea parties – meaning you could spend much of your life ("from cradle to grave") in cooperatives. But now shares were in the hands of fewer, wealthier members, with many barriers to entry and participation for working-class people. This prosperity meant coops attracted people based on economic self-interest rather than ideals of transcending capitalism.

Gradually, delivering dividends became the extent of their ambition.

In 1917, the Cooperative Party was founded as the political wing of the cooperative movement, but by 1920, they made an alliance with the Labour Party, which has continued ever since. As of 2024, there are 26 Co-operative MPs in parliament, although they are also all members of the Labour Party, sitting as Labour/Co-op MPs.

The 1970s saw a revival of the cooperative system in the UK, with those involved in post-1968 movements, second-wave feminism, ecology, anti-nuclear, anti-racist and food activism setting up co-ops. The 1976 Industrial Common Ownership Act in Parliament was passed, creating a legal basis for worker coops and empowering the state to support and encourage them. Borough-based co-op development agencies were set up. Many co-ops that still exist today were set up at this time, like Calverts (1977), Suma (1977), Sanford Housing Coop (1973) and Radical Routes (1986).

From the early 80s onwards, the neo-liberal counter-revolution to the world revolution of the 1960s was in full effect. Capitalism absorbed some demands around freedom, identity, representation, sexuality and gender and the sexual division of labour, while assaulting other elements like economic justice, organised working-class communities and social state welfare. This enormously affected the mutual institutions of the old workers' movement, unions, cooperatives and building societies, whilst the 'right to buy' turned a social good (council housing) into individual private property. Squats were also formalised into housing co-ops, and building societies 'demutualised' into private banks.

Many higher-ups started to lose their principles and become absorbed by the system. Property of the movement was starting to be sold off in dubious ways, becoming retired CEOs' and managers' nest eggs, pension funds and payoffs. The entrance of a new generation of managers with formal education and a striking similarity to executives of private companies led to a wave of expropriation. For example, in 1989, Abbey National Building Society demutualised – the first, and one of the largest, in the UK financial sector, despite a large part of its membership 'actively fighting management against it'.

The Cooperative Bank plc was 100% owned by The Cooperative Group (the co-op that runs 80% of Co-op shops owned by its millions of customer members). In 2013, the bank got into deep financial trouble. A 'bail-in' was organised, Co-op Group's shareholding fell to 30%, and various private equity and hedge funds were left owning most of the rest.

Ultimately, if coops are not integrated into a wider movement (a solidarity economy), they are likely to decay over time. Therefore, the solidarity economy as a concept is much wider than cooperatives. It includes mutual aid, union struggle, building power within communities, and a multitude of democratic means to organise the things we need, such as food, water, housing, access to land, work and social activities. Co-ops have an important role in empowering broader struggle by giving members more free time to do other things (cheap rent and favourable hours) and providing movements with infrastructure and money (the value of which cannot be understated). But they should not be seen as an end in and of themselves.

## Chapter 10

# Community Land Trusts

Part 2: Solidarity economy practices

# WHAT ARE COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS?

LONGITUDES
on this system
and it crushed many thousand
FIG. 67.—BLAKE MULTIPLE-JAW

Community Land Trusts (CLTs) are non-profit organisations that hold land for the benefit of a community. The model is based on the idea that land is a common resource that should be managed democratically and in a way that benefits the community rather than a small owning-class.

The land is owned by a democratic organisation of residents and local stakeholders. This organisation then leases it to those who want to use the land for a specific socially desirable purpose – like affordable housing or a community garden. The land must be used in this way and, consequently, cannot be sold off to private interests – it benefits the community long term. This helps to prevent land speculation, gentrification, and the loss of community-owned land.

As an example, a CLT could buy a plot of land and then lease it to a developer who agrees to build affordable housing units. By retaining ownership of the land, the CLT can ensure it remains affordable for future generations. This helps solve the issues of displacement and gentrification, which often happens when neighbourhoods are redeveloped.

There are many examples of successful Community Land Trusts. For example, Dudley Neighbours stewards 98 permanently affordable homes to prevent displacement of low-income residents. It has also developed community facilities and green spaces. There are currently 587 CLT projects in England & Wales, with 7,100 CLT homes in the pipeline.[80]

on this system
nd it crushed many thousand
Fig. 3

# Chapter 11

# Co-optation

## Part 2b: counter-revoluntionary practices

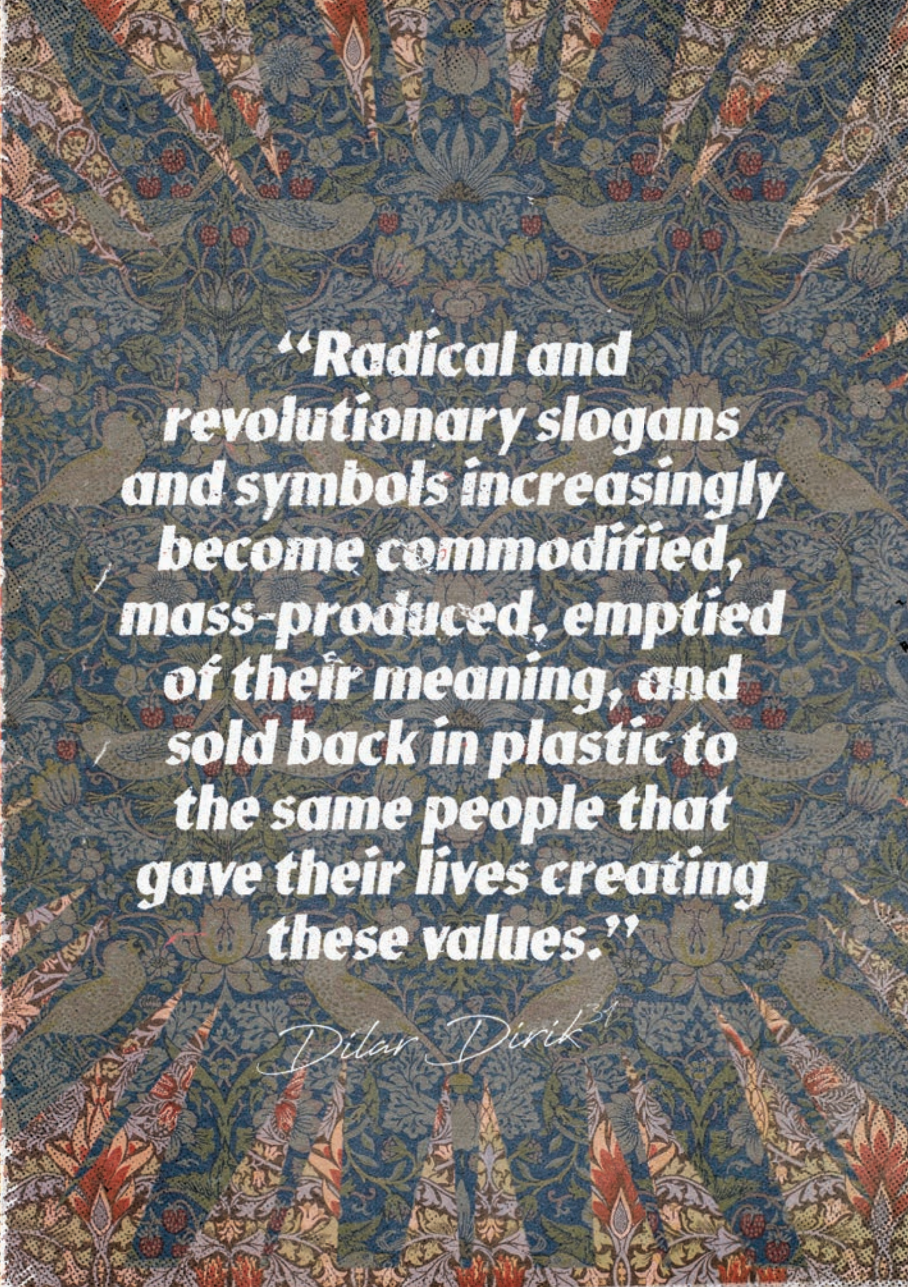
# CO-OPTATION

Co-optation is the process by which a radical idea, movement or cause is taken up by a system or structure in a way that neutralises or diminishes its emancipatory potential. Often, power structures will appear to accommodate change, assimilating the idea into what they say whilst changing very little.

This problem is particularly acute in solidarity economy movements, where state, NGO and capitalist capture are persistent threats. In recent years, various states have adopted the language of the *Social and Solidarity Economy* in their development strategies and, in 2023, the UN adopted the term, arguing it was a key way to reach the Sustainable Development Goals.[30] All this ignores that solidarity economy movements, by their very nature, are built from below, normally in direct confrontation with the state. We also saw a similar watering down of the concept of mutual aid when it gained widespread recognition during the pandemic, as various state actors and reformist tendencies undermined the word's emancipatory potential. Almost all social movements are affected by co-optation in one way or another.

A particular way in which solidarity economy movements are affected by co-optation is through the non-profit industrial complex.

* * *



"Radical and revolutionary slogans and symbols increasingly become commodified, mass-produced, emptied of their meaning, and sold back in plastic to the same people that gave their lives creating these values."

Dilar Dirik[31]

# Chapter 12

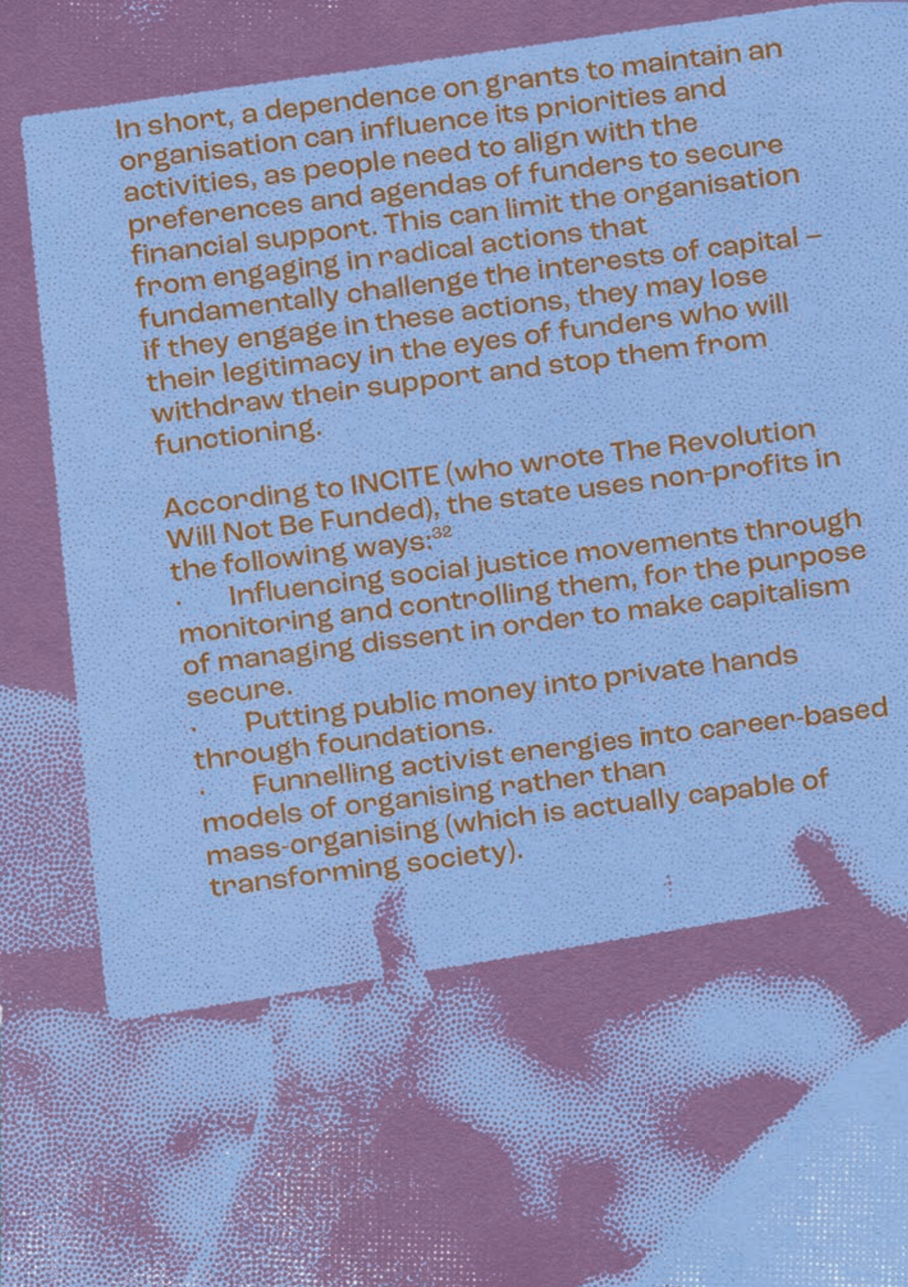
# The non-profit industrial complex

## Part 2b: counter-revolutionary practices

# NON-PROFIT INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The term ‘Non-Profit Industrial Complex’ (NPIC) describes a range of ways in which social movements and grassroots organisations become dependent on funding from the state, corporations, charitable grants, and foundations. This can strongly influence them in both obvious and insidious ways to act in the interests of capital and the status quo, resulting in them losing their teeth. It can lead to surveillance, control, and derailment of social movements, as organisations prioritise the needs of funders, donors, and the long-term sustainability of a particular organisation over meaningful social and political change.

The forms in which co-optation takes place range on a spectrum from conscious targeted state and right-wing think tank 'defanging' and surveillance of social movements to 'professionalisation' and unconscious bleed from mainstream organisational forms and values into social movements. This applies to non-profit companies, charities and NGOs, but also coops, community groups, social enterprises, trade unions and movements.



In short, a dependence on grants to maintain an organisation can influence its priorities and activities, as people need to align with the preferences and agendas of funders to secure financial support. This can limit the organisation from engaging in radical actions that fundamentally challenge the interests of capital – if they engage in these actions, they may lose their legitimacy in the eyes of funders who will withdraw their support and stop them from functioning.

According to INCITE (who wrote The Revolution Will Not Be Funded), the state uses non-profits in the following ways:[32]

- Influencing social justice movements through monitoring and controlling them, for the purpose of managing dissent in order to make capitalism secure.
- Putting public money into private hands through foundations.
- Funnelling activist energies into career-based models of organising rather than mass-organising (which is actually capable of transforming society).

- Providing corporations with cover for their exploitative practices through "philanthropic" work.
- Encouraging social movements to model themselves on capitalist structures.

It also leads to increased professionalisation in organisations, which will then be more likely to hire educated people with admin skills rather than those who are the most passionate about the cause or those with lived experience of oppression. Focusing on credentials and institutionalisation develops competing interests between those who have a job (and therefore an interest in keeping that job) and the original aims of the organisation. It also means that the organisation begins to focus on its own long-term stability, discouraging radical actions that endanger funding and, therefore, jobs. This can even lead to a situation where one organisation may attempt to contain the broader movement to avoid undermining its own interests.

As with much of the neo-liberal economy, competition and marketisation are important factors, as organisations compete for limited resources. This can lead to distrust and lack of cooperation, diverting resources away from collective community empowerment.

Grant funding also tends to focus on service provision over systematic change, meaning we are all constantly fire-fighting, rather than addressing the underlying structures and systems of oppression at the root of problems. We can also see a feedback loop, for example, where the state will cut benefits and drive people into poverty, who then rely on civil society organisations (the 'Big Society') to "plug the gaps".

How can we build up ways of funding our movements and community organisations that are not reliant on grant funding from wealthy individuals and state interests? We need to develop alternatives based on a diversity of democratic economic forms, from worker coops to unions and mutual aid groups. The solidarity economy is about giving movements the financial resources, spaces, and methods to socially reproduce themselves so they can become resilient and be capable of greater independence of action, autonomous from the state and capitalism.

Many organisations will remain reliant on grant funding for a long time to come but, in the meantime, we can increase our understanding of how these influences happen and guard ourselves against them to remain true to our values and our vision.

# Chapter 13

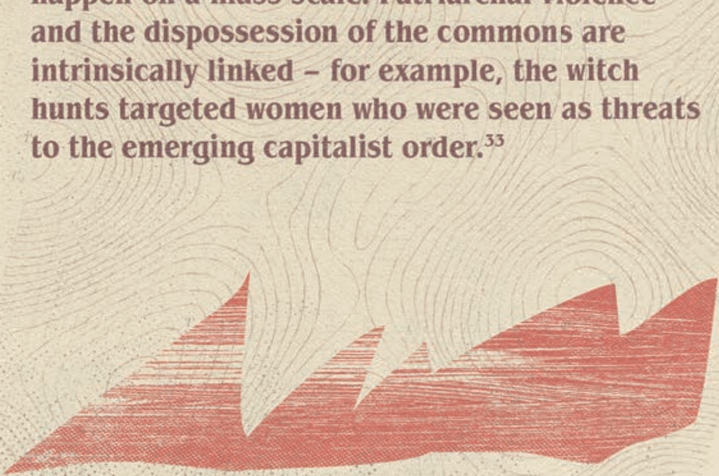
# The Commons and the Diggers

Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

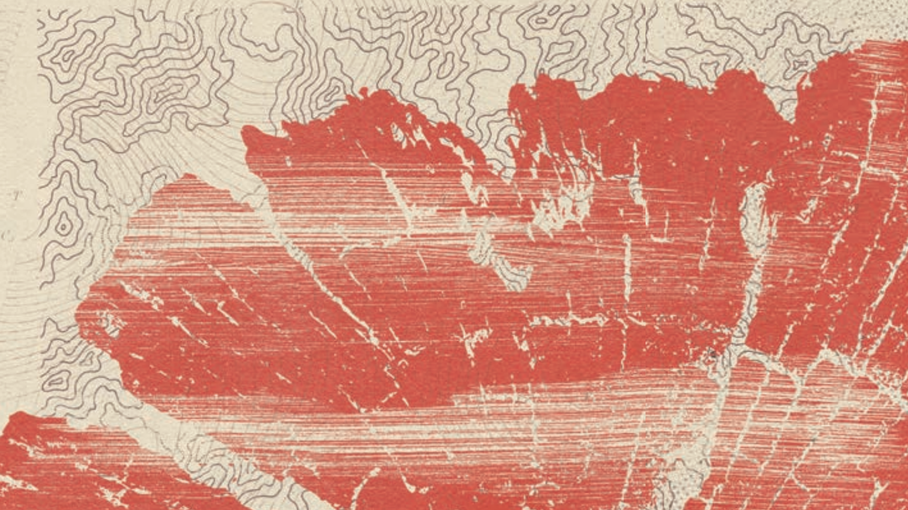
# THE HISTORY OF THE COMMONS

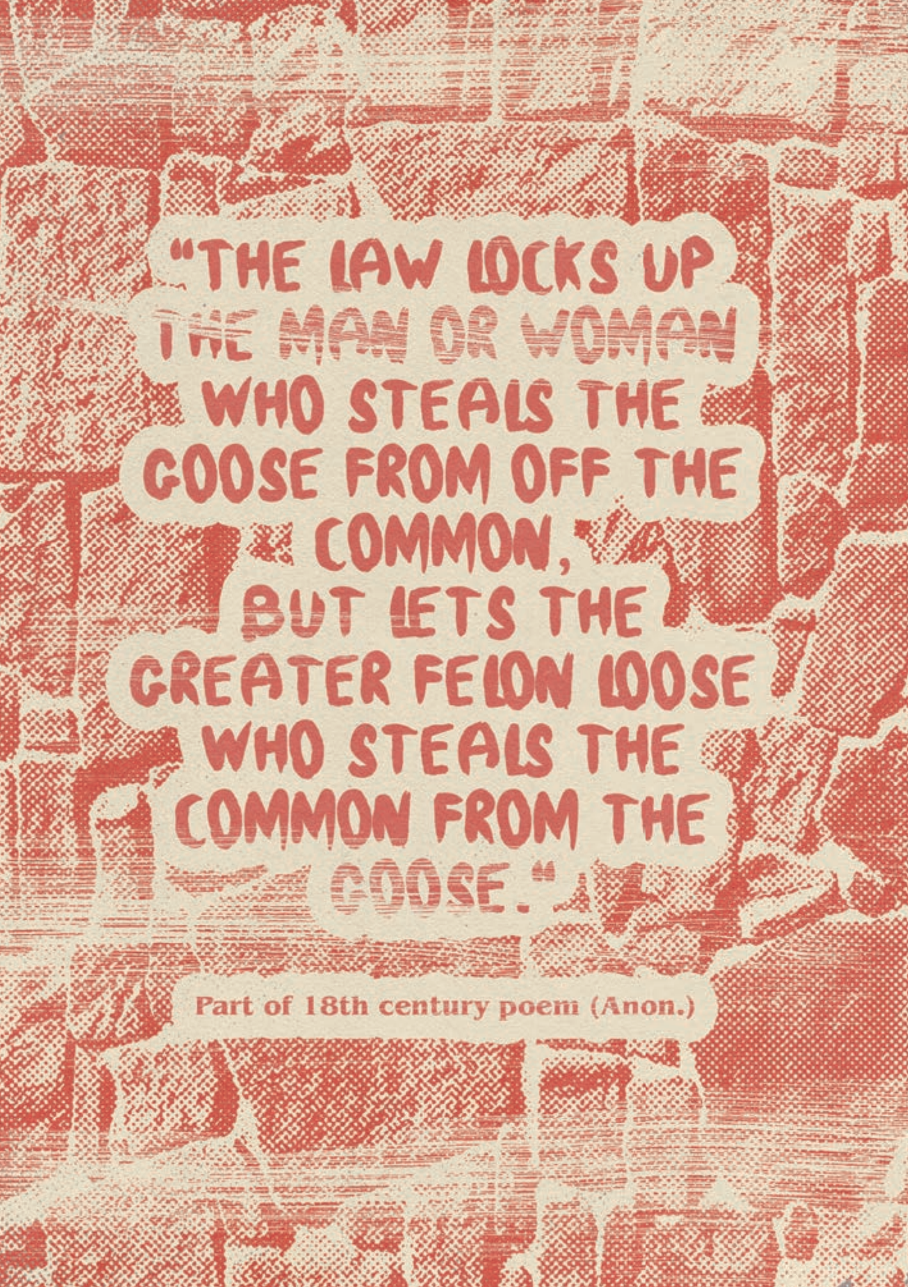
The commons refers to resources that are shared and controlled by a community, outside of the market.

Enclosure refers to the process by which common lands, where people previously had common rights for grazing, cultivation, and other uses, were fenced off and converted into private property, often through extreme violence. An important date in land ownership was the Norman Conquest of 1066, when William the Conqueror invaded Britain and divided up the land among his nobles, introducing the feudal system. From the 12th century, land started to be enclosed, although it was after Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries (1536 to 1541) that dispossession began to happen on a mass scale. Patriarchal violence and the dispossession of the commons are intrinsically linked – for example, the witch hunts targeted women who were seen as threats to the emerging capitalist order.[33]



Enclosure continued through the following centuries, accelerated by the Industrial Revolution and the rise of capitalist and colonial expansion. English enclosure was a key moment in the emergence of global capitalism and represented a key example of what is termed primitive accumulation. It allowed capitalists to accumulate capital and wealth and establish their dominance over society; by separating the peasantry from the land, it created a new proletarian wage working class – those that have nothing to sell but their labour. Through the role of Britain in the empire, this internal colonisation was then brutally exported to the rest of the world.





"THE LAW LOCKS UP
THE MAN OR WOMAN
WHO STEALS THE
GOOSE FROM OFF THE
COMMON,
BUT LETS THE
GREATER FELON LOOSE
WHO STEALS THE
COMMON FROM THE
GOOSE."

Part of 18th century poem (Anon.)

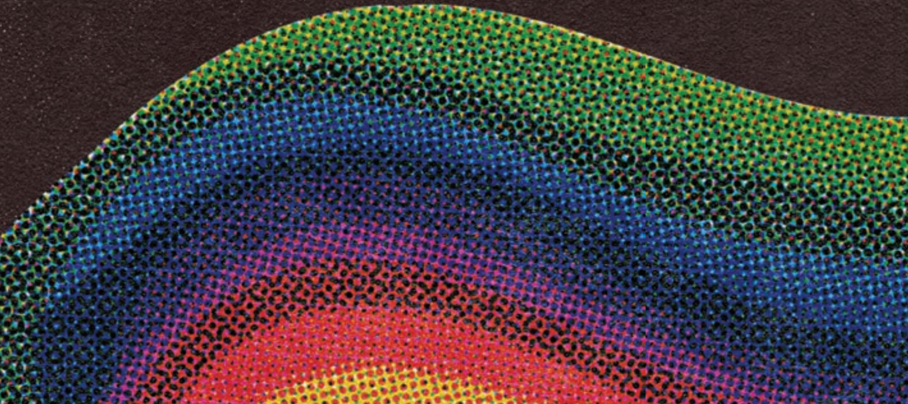
There was significant resistance to enclosure. In the 1381 Peasants' Revolt, enclosure was a side issue, although by the time of Jack Cade's rebellion of 1450, Kett's Rebellion of 1549 and the Captain Pouch revolts of 1604-1607, land rights and enclosure were central. One of the most interesting resistances to enclosure was from the Diggers.

# The Diggers

In 1649, a group called the diggers occupied an enclosed piece of land in Surrey with the view to start farming it collectively, sharing the produce equally. They invited people to join them and, in the following months, many did, with other digger colonies being established elsewhere.

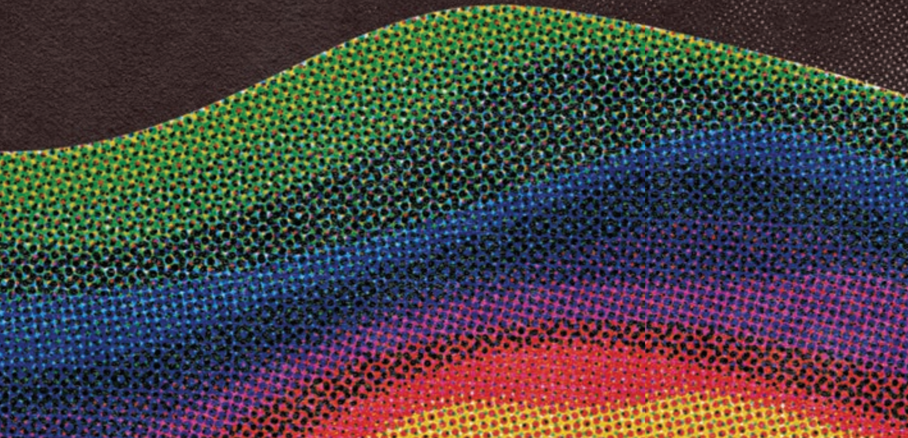
The Diggers argued that the earth was a "common treasury" and, when God had created the earth, he had not meant that "one branch of mankind should rule over another”.[34]

The Diggers used a radical interpretation of the bible to argue for collective ownership, the destruction of hierarchy, and direct action. As such, they are often seen as a form of proto-communism and anarchism.



The Diggers would be constantly driven from the colonies they set up by the local elite and, as a result, their experiment did not last; however, their attempt to create an economy based on solidarity and mutual aid in the 17th century was an inspiration to later radicals.

> ***"Those that Buy and Sell land, and are landlords, have got it either by Oppression, or Murther, or Theft; and all landlords lives in the breach of the Seventh and Eighth Commandements, Thous shalt not steal, nor kill."***
>
> Gerrard Winstanley[35]



The enclosure of the commons is a multi-generational process that has been happening over hundreds of years and continues today – for instance, the attacks on the right to roam, Disney enclosing folk stories through copyright, and water privatisation. The legacy of enclosure can still be seen in the patterns of land ownership and use today: half of England is owned by just 25,000 landowners, whilst individual homeowners hold just 5% of the country's land.[36]

**While most of us spend our entire lives paying off a debt on a small patch of land, which is barely enough to accommodate a dwelling (if we can even afford a mortgage), a few families who have in many cases owned this land for over 1000 years own the majority of the country.**

**When the billionaire Duke of Westminster was asked by the Financial Times about advice he would give to a young entrepreneur wanting to succeed, he answered:**

*"Make sure they have an ancestor who was a very close friend of William the Conqueror."*[37]

**The history of The Diggers and enclosure shows that capitalism is not a "natural" system. It needed to be enacted and enforced with extreme violence.**

# Chapter 14

# The Paris Commune

Part 3: Solidarity economy
historically and today

THE PARIS
COMMUNE

The Paris Commune was a revolutionary government of 2 million that ruled Paris from March 18 to May 28, 1871. It was established at the end of the Franco-Prussian War; as the Prussian army advanced on Paris, the national assembly voted to surrender. Soldiers of the National Guard of Paris took control of the city, declaring the commune. It held out for 70 days, resisting the attacks of both the French Republic and the Prussians, and represented a moment of radical experimentation in governance and social organisation.

The commune was characterised by its focus on direct democracy and worker self-management. Its members sought to create a new social order based on principles of popular sovereignty and community empowerment, challenging the traditional power structures of the French government and society. To this end, there was an attempt within the commune to overcome the separation between society and public authority by abolishing the state via a

PARIS
17
18
19
8
9
10
16
2
3
20
11
7
5
12

confederalist council system. Neighbourhood councils and producer associations were formed, electing delegates subject to immediate recall, and instituting basic reforms like free access to public education, the end of the death penalty, the granting of citizenship to immigrants, the abolition of the standing army (replaced by workers' militias), requisition of vacant houses and the reopening of workplaces under worker control through cooperatives.[38] To those who founded the commune, it was but the first step towards a universal Commune of Communes encompassing the entire globe and uniting all peoples in a confederacy of liberatory democracies.

In total, around 43 worker cooperatives were formed, although other capitalist businesses with bosses still existed alongside these. [39]

The experience of the commune changed Marx's views in some ways. Whilst the 1848 Communist Manifesto called for greater centralisation and a republican state, after the commune, Marx and Engels reached some similar conclusions to the anarchists. In answer to Bakunin's provocation, "the Germans number around forty million. Will for example all forty million be members of the government?" Marx replies, "Certainly! Since the whole thing begins with the self-government of the commune."[40] In 1875, writing to

# Marx &
# Bakunin

Vive la
Commune!

propose changes to the German Social Democratic Party after the experience of the Paris commune, Engels wrote, "The whole talk about the state should be dropped, especially since the commune, which was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word... We would therefore propose replacing state everywhere by Gemeinwesen [community], a good old German word which can very well take the place of the French word commune." [41]

Bakunin said that the commune represented a "bold, clearly formulated negation of the state". [42]

Despite its many achievements, the commune was crushed by French government forces and its leaders were executed or imprisoned. Tens of thousands of Communards were murdered, and thousands more were arrested and deported; however, the commune remains a symbol and a source of inspiration for social movements around the world. To Murray Bookchin, the answer to the problems of the 21st century could be found in the revolutionary project that originated in the Paris Commune.[43] The idea of a confederation of self-governing regions operating within ecological limits and based on communal ownership remains as pertinent today as ever before, particularly in the face of capitalism's devastating impact on the essentials of human life due to the ecological crisis.

LA VILLETTE
18
19

## Chapter 15

# The Spanish Revolution

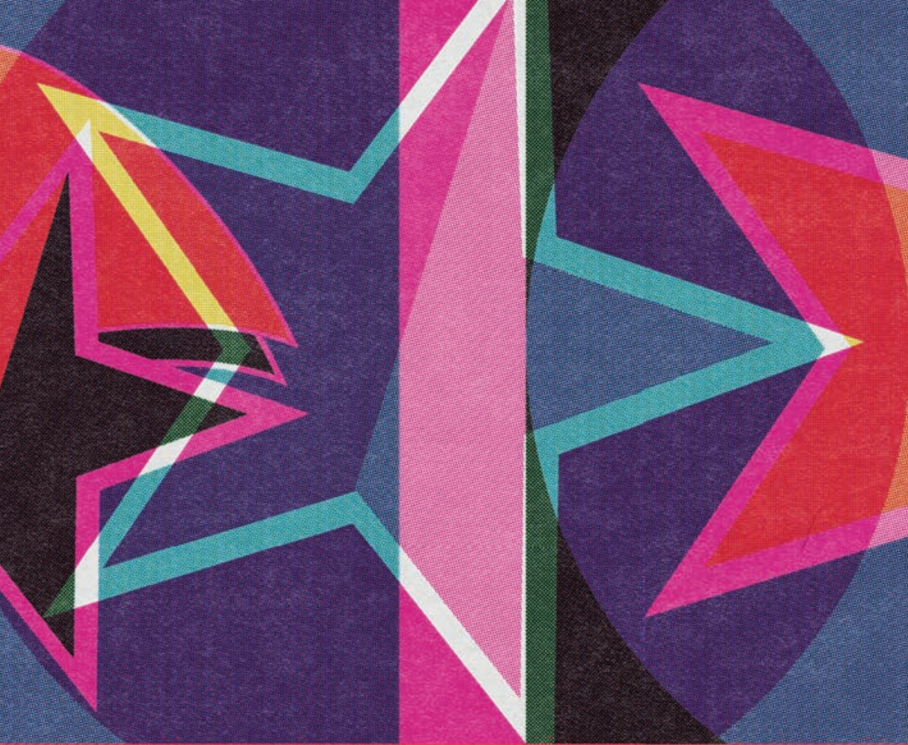
### Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

# SPANISH REVOLUTION OF 1936

During the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), anarchist and, to a lesser extent, socialist groups in Republican-controlled areas established agricultural and industrial collectives. These collectives aimed to create a society based on mutual aid, self-management, and communal ownership, where resources and labour were shared for the benefit of all.

Before the civil war, the anarchist movement could be said to be a large mutual aid organisation. Really the CNT was always much more than a trade union. It was found everywhere: in social activities, literature, culture, education, and relationships, forming a backbone to working-class life, and providing for people in a way that the state did not.[44]

STUR
CATAL
Valencia



> “The CNT was part and parcel of a network of solidarity and action that encompassed every facet of the life of the workers, whether social or cultural, family-centered, recreational, political, or trade union related. That network was made up of the barrio unions, the ateneos, the rationalist schools, cooperatives, the economic defense committee (which resisted evictions), affinity groups, defense groups (coordinated at barrio level, rising to district and then citywide levels), making up, in everyday practice a sturdy and effective autonomous society based on solidarity, with a set of values different from capitalist values.”[45]

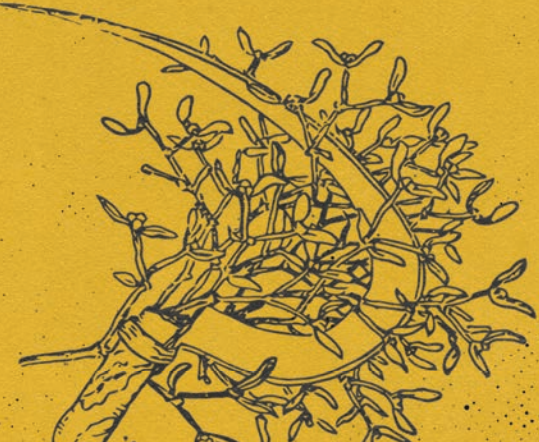
Agustín Guillamón

On July 17 1936, a right-wing coup was launched against the Spanish Republic. Sections of the state broke off to join the coup, and half the country fell to the nationalists; however, in only three days, the uprising was defeated in the major cities. There existed a vacuum of power, as the state was paralysed in places where the coup had been unsuccessful, provoking a revolutionary moment in the republican zones, especially in Catalonia.

Hundreds of 6-person neighbourhood defence cadres of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT had been crucial in defeating the rising in Catalonia. In the days following the rising, they underwent a dual transformation, first into Popular Militias, which set off to fight the fascists and instigated the collectivisation of land in the villages of Aragon, then into revolutionary committees in each neighbourhood of Barcelona, and the villages and towns of Catalonia and the surrounding area.[46]

In Barcelona, these neighbourhood committees – "federation of the barricades" – constituted the only real power at this time. They organised hospitals, set up people's kitchens and requisitioned vehicles, weapons and buildings; initiated industrial and agricultural collectivisation; organised popular militias; formed patrols; populated the barricades that controlled traffic; converted churches into schools and warehouses; and created a network of provisioning committees in every neighbourhood. They also issued vouchers, travel passes, conducted marriage ceremonies, financed rationalists' schools, newspapers and cultural centres, paid militiamen, etc.[47] They were supported by most of the population, as a revolutionary spirit affected all parts of society.

There was, however, a conflict within the Spanish anarchist movement. The Nosotros group (Durruti, García Oliver, Ascaso, etal.) clashed with the rest of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) over the question of power in early 1936, when it was clear a rightist coup was coming. The rest of the FAI had dismissed the Nosotros group as advocating "anarchist dictatorship" when they argued for taking power. But following the rising, the anarchists had



* * *

complete control in Catalonia, which was recognised by Lluís Companys (President of the Catalan government) in a meeting with Durruti, Garcia Oliver and Sanz on July 20th, who asked what they were going to do, given they had control of the situation. This delegation of 3 believed the Catalan government should be overthrown, but they told Companys they would have to see what the rest of their organisation said.

On the 21st, the anarchists at a plenum voted to reject seizing power, which was construed as the dictatorship of anarchist leaders rather than the institutionalisation, coordination, and extension of the power that the revolutionary committees already had at street level. Murray Bookchin's interpretation argues that the power they had needed to be institutionalised: by smashing the old state and turning the committees into workers' councils, who would send recallable delegates to assemblies to

*“It is possible that only a hundred of us will survive, but with that hundred we shall enter Saragossa, beat Fascism and proclaim libertarian communism. I will be the first to enter Saragossa; I will proclaim the free commune. We shall subordinate ourselves neither at Madrid nor Barcelona, neither to Azaña nor Companys. If they wish, they can live in peace with us; if not, we shall go to Madrid … We shall show you, bolsheviks, how to make a revolution.”*

**Buenaventura Durruti**

coordinate on a regional and national level – a (directly democratic and grassroots) confederalist polity of workers, militias, and peasant councils.[48] This would have meant the whole of the working class ruling directly through a confederalist model from below rather than a small group of political parties.

Instead, they opted to leave the state intact and collaborate in its reconstruction and re-establishment of power. In September 1936, the anarchists joined the government of Catalonia and, in November, they joined the national government with four ministers (Justice, Commerce, Health and Public Assistance and Industry)

The state gradually undermined the revolution. This came to a head in May 1937, when the CNT-FAI, the Libertarian Youth, the POUM and the Friends of Durruti Group faced off against state forces in Barcelona. The Friends of Durruti argued for a federation of free municipalities (or communes) and union control of the economy as the basis for a revolutionary polity – to finish the revolution that began in July. They were defeated, which allowed the destruction of the organs of revolutionary power and the breaking up of worker control of factories and rural collectives, driven in large part by the Stalinist Spanish Communist party.

# The solidarity economy in Spain

Despite the fragility of the revolutionary situation, which lasted for a little under a year, it is often held up as one of the most far-reaching revolutions in world history. Millions participated in a revolution that created decentralised and horizontal federations of participatory industrial and service collectives and agrarian communes. In Catalonia, where 75% of Spanish industry was, most businesses were placed under workers' self-management, coordinated through industrial councils using a decentralised planning model.[49] Most collectives reduced wage differentials and established pension schemes, medical services and nurseries. Emma Goldman claimed that productivity in industry almost doubled, whilst agricultural yields increased from between 30-50%.[50]

In the countryside, the revolution went much further. In many villages, money was abolished, and a large degree of free supply was established, wherein people worked collectively and took as much as they wanted from a communal store. By 1937, there were 1,500 rural collectives involving several million people.[51] Schools, cultural centres and literacy campaigns were often launched within collectives.

As with industry, at a regional and national level, collectives were coordinated through federations and associations organised through unions, using a confederalist model. In eastern Aragon, the Regional Defence Council of Aragon coordinated village collectives – an anarchist autonomous government inside the republican zone.

According to Agustin Guillamón, Danny Evans, Tom Wetzel and Murray Bookchin, the main problem for the Spanish revolution was a slowly reconstructed state, which gradually became dominated by Stalinists, undermined it and would ultimately destroy the revolution (and lose the war). According to this view, the dichotomy between "anarchist dictatorship" and collaboration with the reconstruction of the shattered state was false. The choice was instead between collaboration with the state or a new governance structure based on grassroots committees and direct democracy – something the anarchist leadership was unwilling to create. By refusing to build a new power, they helped reconstruct the old one, which would ultimately destroy them and fail to win the war against fascism. As Bookchin argues, the lesson of Spain is that it's not possible to remove or ignore power, but it is possible to give it an institutional emancipatory form.[32]

C.N.T
F
CATALONIA
ARAGON
Barcel
PONCHE MORERA
CNT

# 1936

# Chapter 16

# The Black Panthers

Part 3: Solidarity economy
historically and today

# The Black Panthers

## and mutual aid

In 1968, the Black Panther Party introduced its free breakfast program; within a year, it fed 20,000 people in 19 cities.[53] This was one of 60+ "survival programs" created by the party, under the slogan "survival pending revolution".[54] Other programs included children's development centres, schools and adult education, free food and clothing, health clinics (including an ambulance service), free cooperative housing, free buses to prisons, and self-defence classes for retirees. These solidarity economy programs not only helped oppressed peoples meet their basic needs: instead of being ashamed about not being able to feed themselves, they built a shared analysis of poverty and racism, all the while countering isolation.

Recognising the success of the programs, the FBI's director wrote in 1969, "*The BCP [Breakfast for*

*Children Program] represents the best and most influential activity going for the BPP [Black Panther Party] and, as such, is potentially the greatest threat to efforts by authorities to neutralise the BPP and destroy what it stands for".*[55]

At its peak, the party reportedly had 90% support amongst black people in major cities and sold a quarter of a million copies of its newspaper each week.[56] The consequence was brutal suppression of the Panthers – both through violence, including killings, and more subtle means. To neutralise the Panthers, the government expanded its own federal free breakfast program (which still feeds millions today).

# Chapter 17

# The Zapatistas

## Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

# ZAPATISTAS

On January 1, 1994, the Zapatistas, a mainly indigenous Mayan group of small farmers, declared war on the Mexican state over NAFTA, agrarian reform, and lack of fair elections in Mexico. They occupied several towns in the southern state of Chiapas, hoping that this armed struggle would launch a revolution across Mexico, as peasant organisations and unions took their lead. Whilst they received much support across Mexican civil society, this revolt did not ultimately transpire. Instead, a brief moment of armed struggle was followed by peace talks with the Mexican government. This culminated in the agreements of San Andrés, creating an uneasy and fragile truce between the Mexican government and the Zapatista communities, and a de-facto autonomous zone of around 300,000 people.

Since then, the Zapatistas have built up a directly democratic confederalist system of self-administration. A key Zapatista principle is 'mandar obedeciendo' (lead by obeying), meaning those on higher levels do not make decisions as representatives but rather as mandated and recallable delegates, carrying out decisions made by the popular assemblies. Any idea that is proposed by a higher level must go through a consultation process with each popular assembly. At the local level, consensus is

strived for – a majority vote is only used as a backup – and anyone over the age of 12 is able to vote. Delegates on higher levels serve for three years, but with shifts only a few weeks long, which is intended to prevent the monopolisation of power. The EZLN (the armed wing) does not have any power in the autonomous municipalities; rather, power is with the popular assemblies.

In November 2023, the Zapatistas re-organised their system of governance. This was, in effect, a further decentralisation of their Confederalist governance system with the creation of many more councils at the lowest level.

EZLN

"SEIZING POWER? NO, SOMETHING A BIT MORE DIFFICULT: A NEW WORLD."

-SUBCOMANDANTE MARCOS[57]

The Zapatista economy has built a degree of autonomy and self-reliance through solidarity economy principles, with a particular focus on women's autonomy. Communal stores, workers' cooperatives, low-cost healthcare, free education, communal land, and low-interest loans are all used – as a result, violence and hunger are far lower than in comparable communities. The Zapatistas are well known for their coffee cooperatives: by selling through high-paying markets of the US and Europe, it means that the movement gets important funding.

In regard to crime, a restorative approach is used, with sentences mainly being community services and fines; if jail sentences are given, they almost never exceed several days. Meanwhile, Zapatista security are neither armed nor uniformed, are elected by the community (and recallable), are not paid, and are regularly rotated.[58] Each Zapatista community has its own security, which it elects and controls; higher administrative levels (the municipality and region) do not have security.

# Everything for Everyone, Nothing for Ourselves

Zapatista slogan[63]

# Chapter 18

# Argentina

## Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

# THE WORKER-RECOVERED ENTERPRISE MOVEMENT *Argentina*

From 1998-2001, Argentina experienced an economic depression, followed by a collapse. In response, many Argentinian workers occupied their factories and re-started production under workers' self-management, supported by a wider mass social movement (known as Argentinazo). A crucial way in which the social movement supported the occupied factories was through resistance to eviction – for instance, the Zanón ceramic factory resisted seven attempts to evict them, with support from the unemployed.[59] Approximately 190 businesses were reclaimed by around 10,000 workers, mainly between 2001-2003; as of 2020, there were nearly 400 recovered factories with around 16,000 workers.[60]

Many factories equalised wages and distributed tasks among everyone, even going so far as to rotate roles in some factories. Some factories made it so that roles considered "managerial", like accounting, had to be done alongside working on the shop floor.[61]

In the wider movement, neighbourhood assemblies were created. These assemblies often occupied buildings to create social centres that provided libraries, workshops, gardens, collective cooking and mobilised people for demonstrations and roadblocks. An "assembly of assemblies" was called for to replace the government.[62]

The government made massive concessions to the mass movement's demands, including defaulting on its international debts, which was a defeat for the IMF and World Bank. Since then, the economy has stabilised, demobilising the rebellion; however, many of the occupied factories continue to stay in the hands of the workers, run by workers' councils under cooperative models.[63] They have, however, faced many problems, from being forced to compensate the former owners to the backwardness of their equipment and debt accrued from before they were occupied.[64]

Those factories that have managed to survive have often taken on many aspects of capitalism in order to stay competitive – they still exist in a market system. Ideally, the overall aim of a fully-fledged solidarity economy would be the socialisation of industries under workers' self-management into industrial federations; otherwise, the workers would simply be self-managing their own exploitation by existing in a capitalist market.

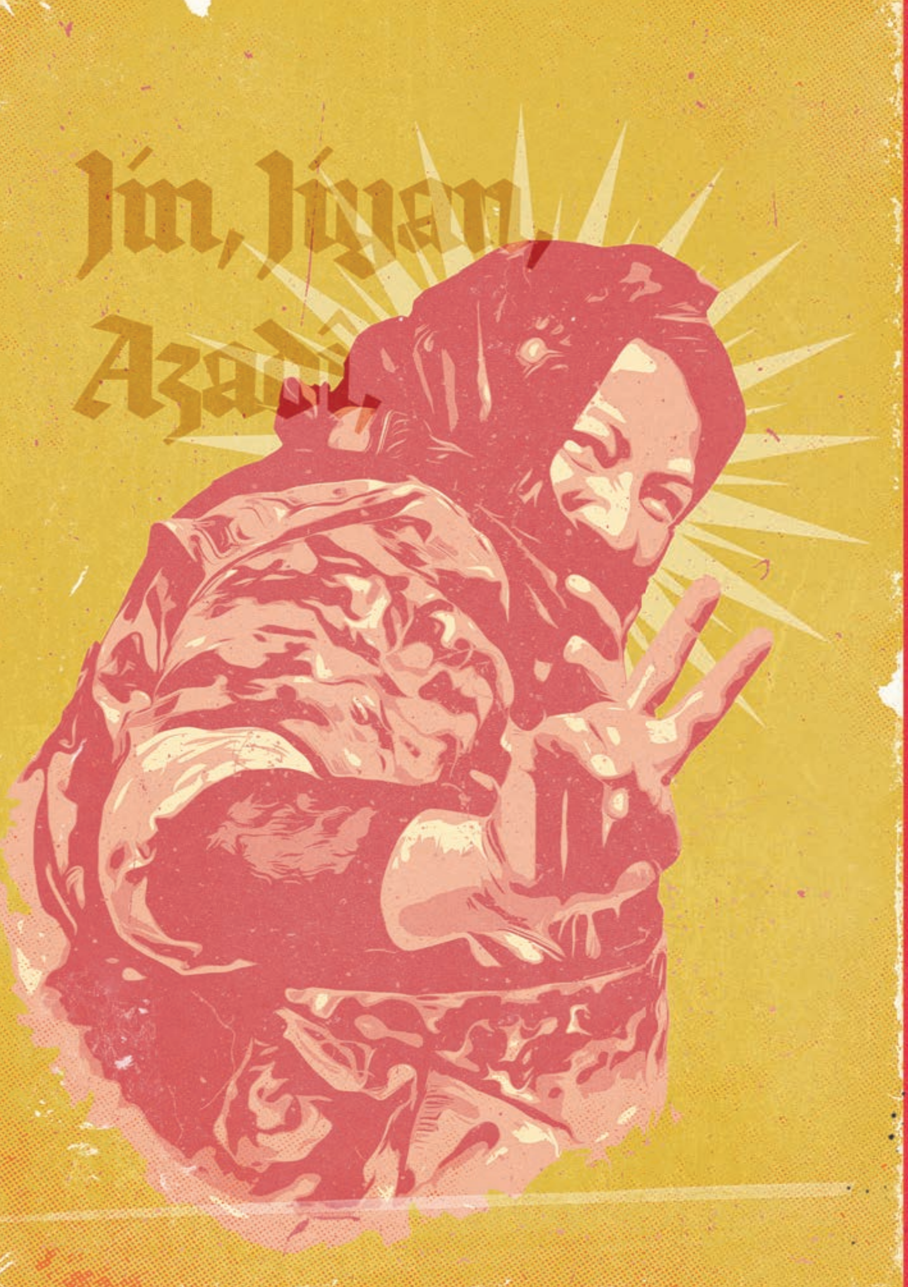
# Chapter 19

# Rojava

## Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

# The revolution in ROJAVA

## Building up democratic-confederalism from 2012


Jin, Jiyan,
Azadî,

## The Kurdistan Freedom Movement

For the past 100 years, Kurdistan has been divided by the borders of four nation states: Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq. Kurds within those borders have faced severe oppression, massacres and cultural genocide by these states – although they have resisted against this, even before these states existed. The Kurdistan Freedom Movement (KFM) of today can be seen as the current manifestation of this resistance. Founded in the 1970s from a newly emerged Kurdish Left, but always with an internationalist perspective and non-Kurdish members, the KFM has struggled against the Turkish state since its founding, including with guerrilla warfare since the 1980s.

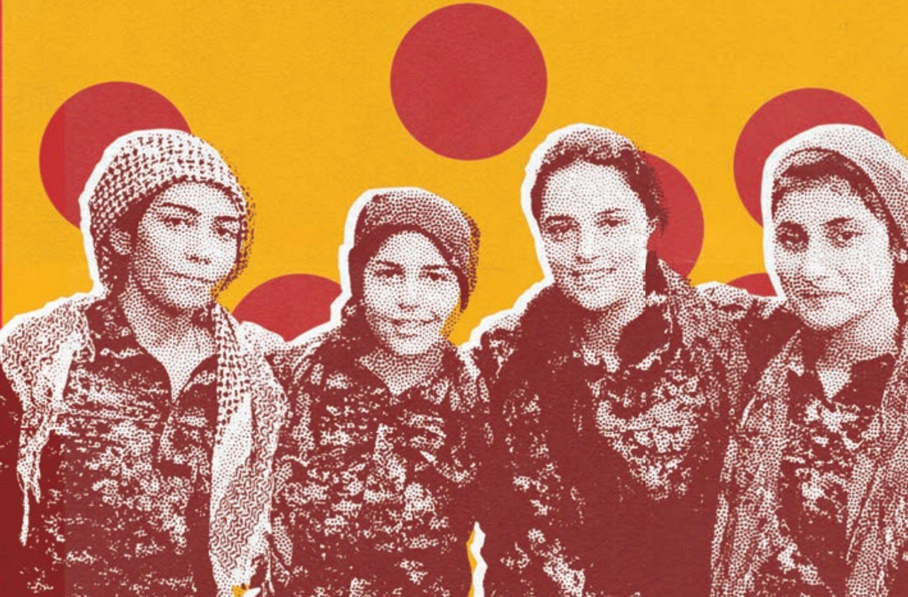
In 1999, Abdullah Öcalan, the ideological leader of the Kurdistan Workers Party and broader Kurdistan Freedom Movement, was captured by Turkey. Since then he has been imprisoned – largely in solitary confinement – on Turkey's prison island, Imrali. During this time, in the wake of the collapse of the USSR, Öcalan read many authors that had a profound effect on his thinking, including Fernand Braudel, Maria Mies, Emanuel Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank and Murray Bookchin.[65]

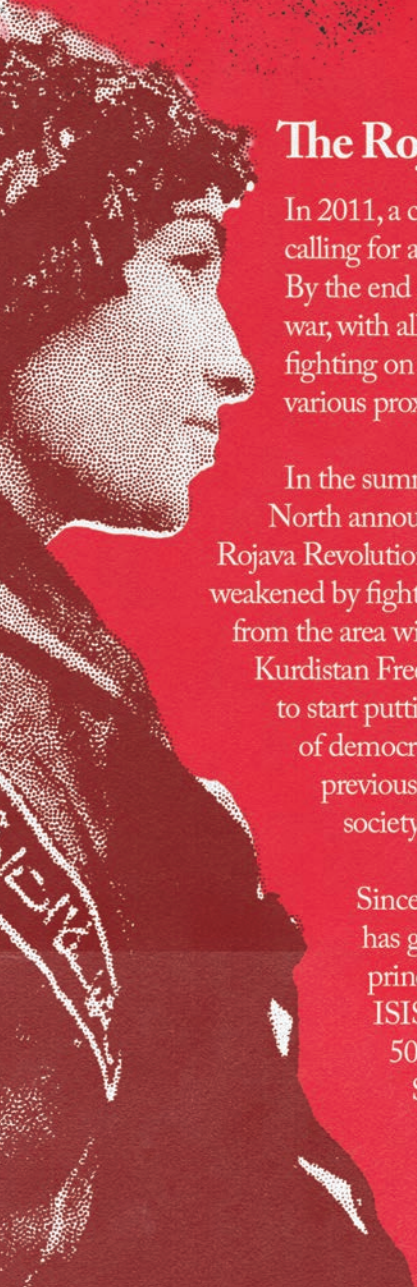
From inside prison Öcalan used his legal case to put the entire world system on trial, and in his legal defence writings proposed a new paradigm for the movement, which transformed itself from a classic Marxist-Leninist national liberation struggle with the aim of establishing an independent socialist Kurdish state, into a mass movement organised at all levels of society – from unions and cooperatives to women's autonomous organisations, youth organisations, cultural and arts organisations, neighbourhood and village communes, as well as multiple political parties, aiming to democratise society as a whole.

This strategy is based on a critique of the failures of 'real' (actually existing) socialism and national liberation struggles to overcome capitalism because of their attachment to the state. As Öcalan argues, "it [real-socialism] was the most totalitarian, anti-democratic form of capitalism". Perhaps most importantly, Öcalan locates the emergence of hierarchical power and violence – and the state and capitalism – 5000 years ago in the subjection of women through patriarchy – meaning women's liberation is crucial to overcoming oppression and is at the heart of the movement.

The new paradigm Öcalan proposed is based on the three pillars of women's liberation, radical democracy and (social) ecology. The aim is to build a 'democratic nation' based on the plurality of peoples, faiths and cultures of the region, and a bottom up system of self administration known as Democratic Confederalism.

This 'democracy without a state' aims for 'democratic autonomy' within existing borders – a non-state decentralised confederation of communes, councils, academies and cooperatives based on bottom-up self-administration, whereby the state becomes redundant, with the cultural and language rights of all people of the region ensured. Power is rooted in society, rather than the state. At the same time, cooperatives and other democratic economy initiatives aim to create a 'communal economy' and to strengthen the relations and confidence of women. The strategic aim is for society to be stronger than state institutions, so that society governs itself.





# The Rojava revolution

In 2011, a citizen uprising in Syria began, calling for an end to the Assad dictatorship. By the end of 2012, this had spiralled into a war, with all the world's superpowers fighting on the battleground of Syria via various proxy forces.

In the summer of 2012, the Kurds in the North announced the beginning of the Rojava Revolution. The Assad regime, already weakened by fighting on multiple fronts, withdrew from the area with minimal casualties. The Kurdistan Freedom Movement was then able to start putting into practice a new paradigm of democratic confederalism, which had previously operated underground, on a society-wide scale.

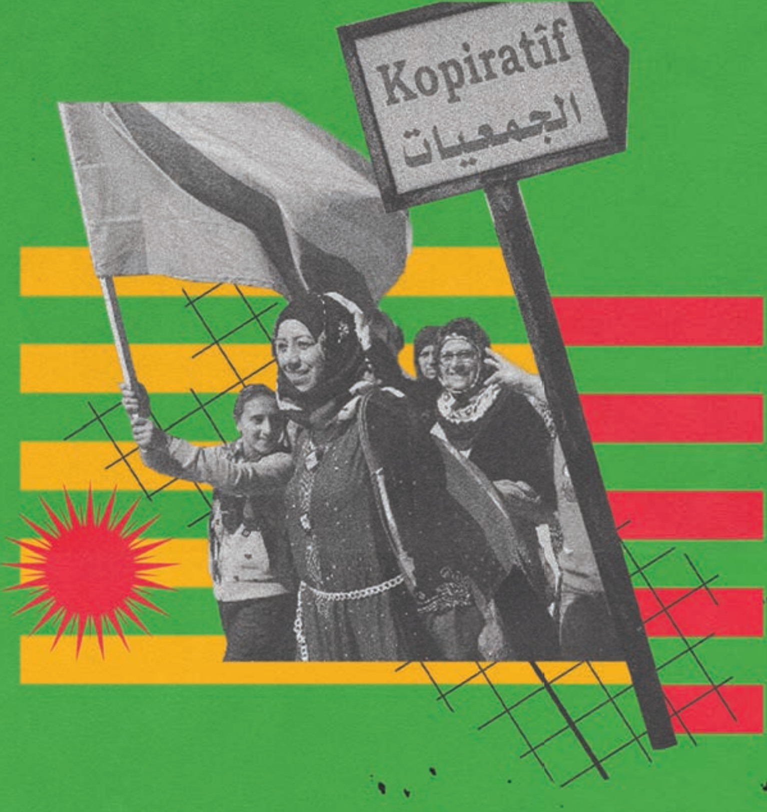
Since then, the self-administration has grown significantly in size, principally because of the war against ISIS, and is now a region of roughly 50,000 km2 (slightly larger than Switzerland) and roughly 3-5 million people. The region's current name is the Democratic Autonomous Administration of the North and East Syria Region. Rojava is not used in the tile, as Rojava means "west" (as in west Kurdistan) in Kurdish, and the administration wants to make clear that it is not a Kurdish project, but for all people of the region.

A model based on a matrix of autonomous neighbourhood assemblies (or 'communes'), civil society organisations, political parties, unions, and cooperatives has been built up. It works from the bottom-up via a system of rotating delegates, with quotas for men, women, and each of the different ethnic groups that make up the community. A commitment to women's liberation is at the heart of the whole project. An estimated 7% of the economy of North and East Syria is made up of cooperatives

There are, of course, many contradictions in the revolution and it is still very much a work in progress, not least because of internal and external threats – including daily military attacks and shelling by Turkey.

In order for a fully-fledged, confederalist, bottom-up council system to work, people have to take their decision-making into their own hands and have a high level of participation; this has not yet been fully developed.[66] For example, communes were originally meant to be up to 150 people in size, which would have facilitated greater levels of direct democracy, dispersal of power and collective responsibility. Due to the slow uptake in participation in the system, communes are often around 1,000 people, which means a system of direct democracy is more difficult, and some communes can come to appear like small states. [67] This has also meant that delegation to higher levels has not entirely worked as intended. It is not for lack of trying: participation is constantly encouraged by the administration, which gradually attempts to build engagement and create new communes. Another problem is *state mentality*. Sometimes the population sees the co-chairs of the commune as a new state in the way the old system was, where some people have power, and the rest of the population must navigate this, rather than seeing themselves as part of political decision making and having a way to control their own lives. [68] Of course, this often becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Despite these challenges, the approach the movement takes is to build up slowly – with the knowledge that historical examples have shown that people must want a new system in for it to work – leading by example rather than top-down coercion. By growing and solidifying the grassroots democracy of the democratic confederalist council system, people in Rojava aim to replace patriarchal capitalist and statist structures with commons-based cooperatives and communes – but do not delude themselves into thinking this can happen overnight.



# Chapter 20

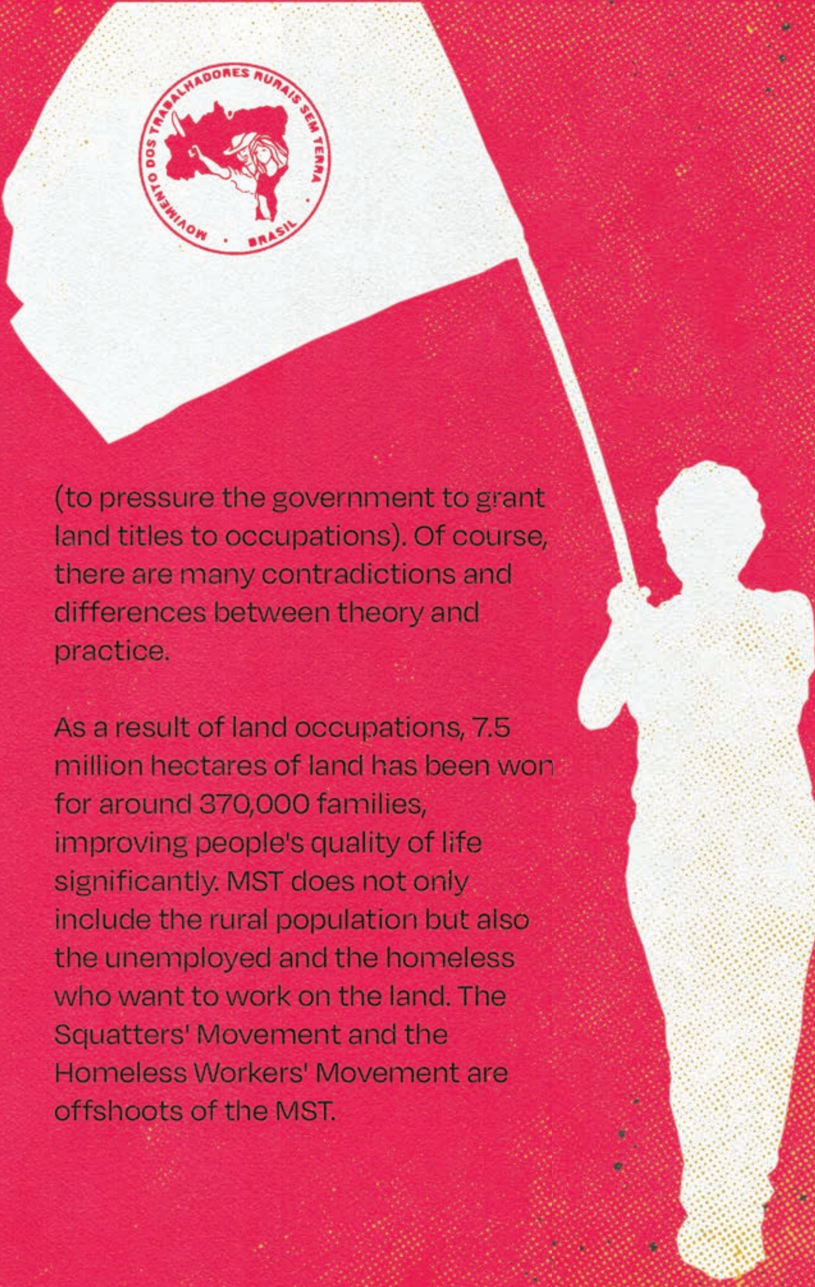
# The Landless Workers Movement

Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

# LANDLESS WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The landless workers' movement (MST) is a mass movement of 1.5 million rural workers and landless peasants in Brazil. Since 1984, it has led more than 2,500 land occupations for people to live and farm on. Once the land is occupied, communal agricultural cooperatives are worked towards, although this doesn't always come easily, and land is often often parcelled out to individuals as well. MST occupations also establish credit unions, health clinics, markets, and cultural centres. Schools are created, often guided by Freirean pedagogy – an anti-hierarchical teaching method.[69]

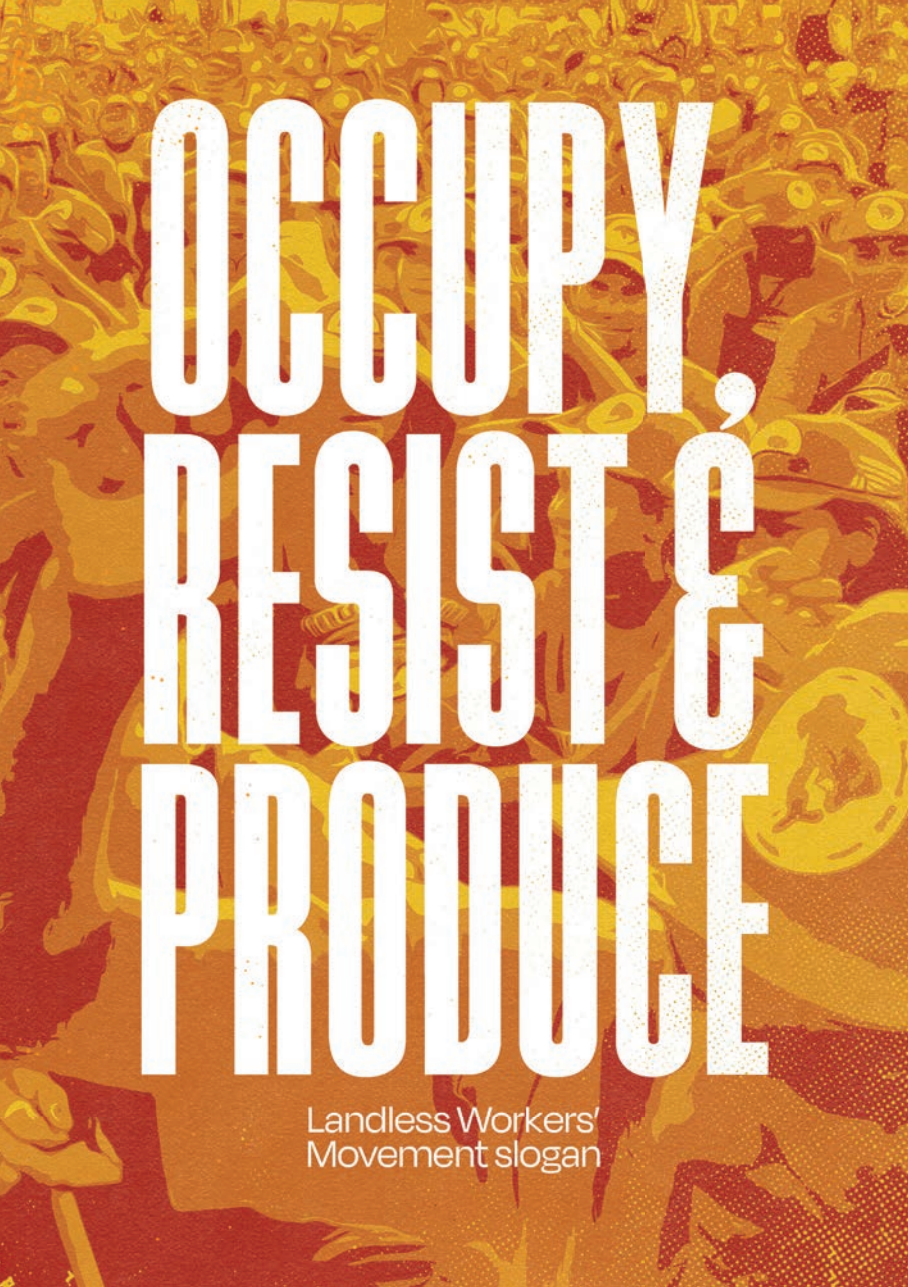
MST has a grassroots and decentralised organisational structure, with decision-making intended to remain mostly at the local level. This basic unit is made up of 10-15 families living on a land occupation, known as the *Nucleo de base*, who self-organise their occupation, farming, and the establishment of further occupations.[70] Higher levels do exist and are elected from the base to coordinate actions like blockades of motorways


MOVIMENTO DOS TRABALHADORES RURAIS SEM TERRA · BRASIL

(to pressure the government to grant land titles to occupations). Of course, there are many contradictions and differences between theory and practice.

As a result of land occupations, 7.5 million hectares of land has been won for around 370,000 families, improving people's quality of life significantly. MST does not only include the rural population but also the unemployed and the homeless who want to work on the land. The Squatters' Movement and the Homeless Workers' Movement are offshoots of the MST.

MOVIMENTO DOS TRABALHADORES RURAIS SEM TERRA
BRASIL



OCCUPY, RESIST & PRODUCE

Landless Workers' Movement slogan

# Chapter 21

# Cooperation Jackson

## Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

# COOPERATION JACKSON

Cooperation Jackson is a grassroots organisation and social movement based in Jackson, Mississippi. Rooted in the struggle for Black liberation and self-determination, it aims to build economic democracy in Mississippi, the poorest US state, which faces high levels of unemployment and black poverty.

Founded in 2014, Cooperation Jackson aims to build up the solidarity economy through a network of mutually reinforcing worker, consumer, community and housing cooperatives, credit unions, community land trusts, mutual aid networks and urban agricultural cooperatives. As Cooperation Jackson argues, no one solidarity economy practice can transcend capitalism; instead, an approach based on complementary and mutually reinforcing strategies must be used.

COOPERATION
JACKSON
COOPERATION JACKSON

Cooperation Jackson grew out of the New Afrikan People's Organization and the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement. They both co-published the Jackson-Kush Plan in 2012.

The three components of the Jackson-Kush Plan are to:

- **Build people's assemblies.**
- **Build a network of progressive political candidates.**
- **Build a broad-based solidarity economy.**

Ultimately, the aim of Cooperation Jackson is the construction of "dual power" – autonomous from the state through people's assemblies – to build a new society, nullifying and replacing the power of the US state.

In 2019, Cooperation Jackson had three worker cooperatives: a farm, a printshop (with 3D printers) and a lawn care cooperative. The Fannie Lou Hammer Community Land Trust has over 50 properties, while the Kuwasi Balagoon Center for Economic Democracy and Development acts as an education centre and coordinating base.

# Chapter 22

# Abahlali baseMjondolo

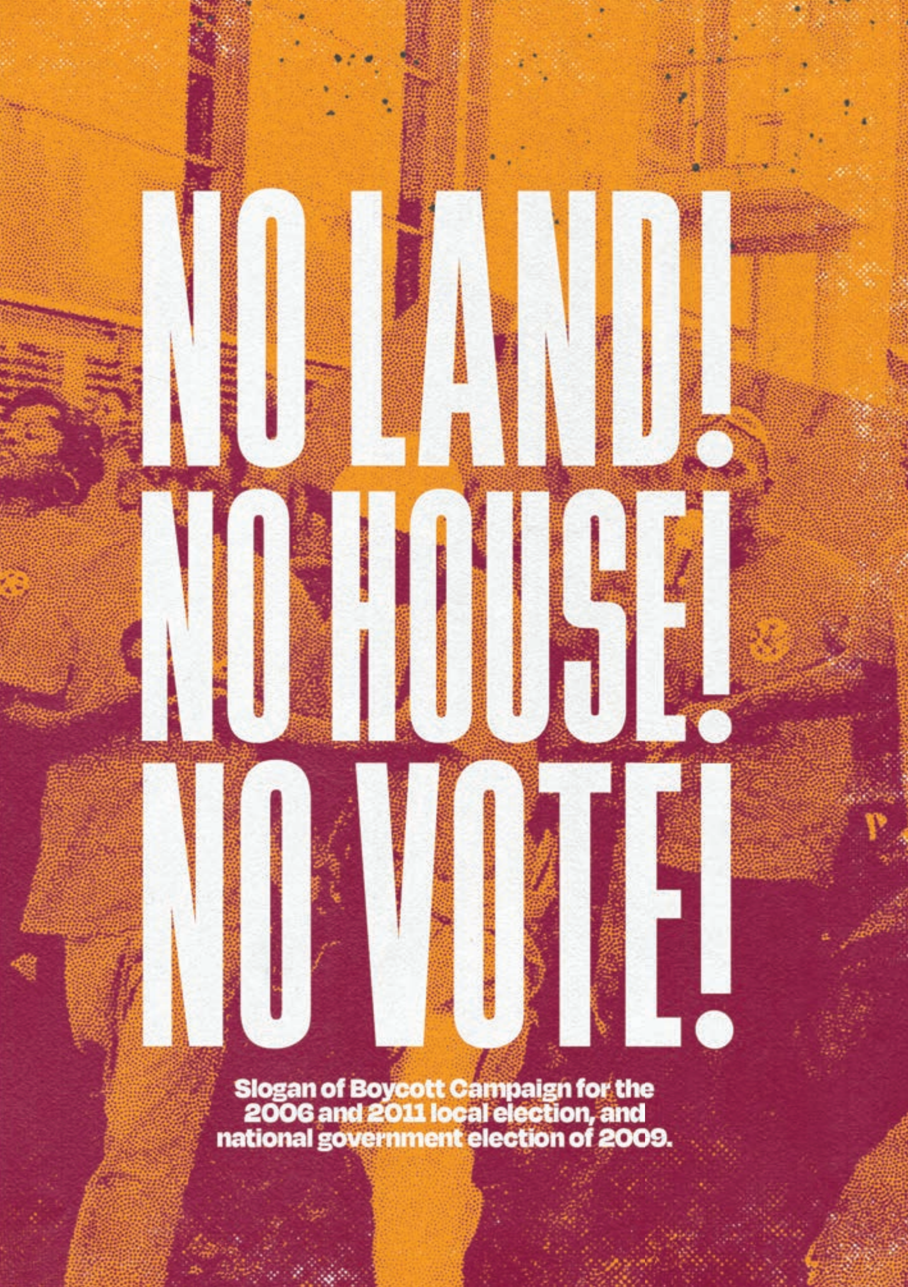
Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

# ABAHLALI BASEMJONDOL- THE RESIDENTS OF THE SHACKS

Abahlali baseMjondolo – ″residents of shanty towns″ – is a grassroots social movement of communities living in informal settlements, slums and shanty towns in South Africa. With 115,000 members, Abahlali baseMjondolo fights for housing, land, provision of basic services, the safety of women, freedom to organise and the democratisation of society.[71]

The movement is highly democratic, with leaders who are not paid salaries, and is autonomous of and hostile to NGOs and political parties – the slogan "No Land, No House, No Vote" is often used during election time.[72] The movement is highly decentralised and values confederalist participatory democracy: all issues are deliberated using consensus in regular open meetings.[73] The movement can be understood as an attempt to build autonomous counterpower to the state through interlinked communes and collectives.[74]

Since 2005, the movement has carried out land occupations, self-organised water and electricity connections, opposed evictions, created creches, kitchens and gardens, and run schools. Repression against the movement has been severe, with more than 20 of its members assassinated. [75]



# NO LAND!
# NO HOUSE!
# NO VOTE!

**Slogan of Boycott Campaign for the 2006 and 2011 local election, and national government election of 2009.**

# Chapter 23

# Cooperation Town

Part 3: Solidarity economy
historically and today

# FOOD

## Co-ops:

# COOPERATION TOWN CO-OP

Cooperation Town is an organisation made up of community food co-ops, self-organising on streets and estates across the UK. There are currently 21 co-ops in the network. They are owned and run by their members, who collectively decide how they want to run the project.

Essentially, Cooperation Town is a small buying group that provides its members with food (and other household products) bought in bulk and redistributed at a very low price as an affordable and sociable way to get necessities. The Cooperation Town model is based on a combination of free supplies and food bought cheaply in bulk. Members pay a small amount every week and contribute up to one hour a week to run the co-op. Normally, the amount is around £5

a week, and this saves at least a 1/3 on usual food shopping. Members get a huge range of items, decided by the membership. Some people, such as those living alone, find they have too much food, and so divide the food box with neighbours.

Unlike a food bank, where recipients are means-tested and have no say in how the service is run, Cooperation Town co-ops are owned by their members, who decide together what to buy and how to run the co-op. They are not-for-profit groups set up to meet members' needs and are controlled by the people who join them. They are based on solidarity, not charity.

# Chapter 24
# Short Examples

## Part 3: Solidarity economy historically and today

# SHORT EXAMPLES

# SOVIETS

Soviet means council in Russian. By Oct 1917, there were 1,429 Soviets in Russia. These Soviets existed in a state of dual power with the Russian state. Whilst many Soviets were very top-down, with power concentrated in the central committee and the assemblies of delegates (from workplaces and garrisons) essentially a rubber stamp for decisions already made by the executive committee, they were not all like this.

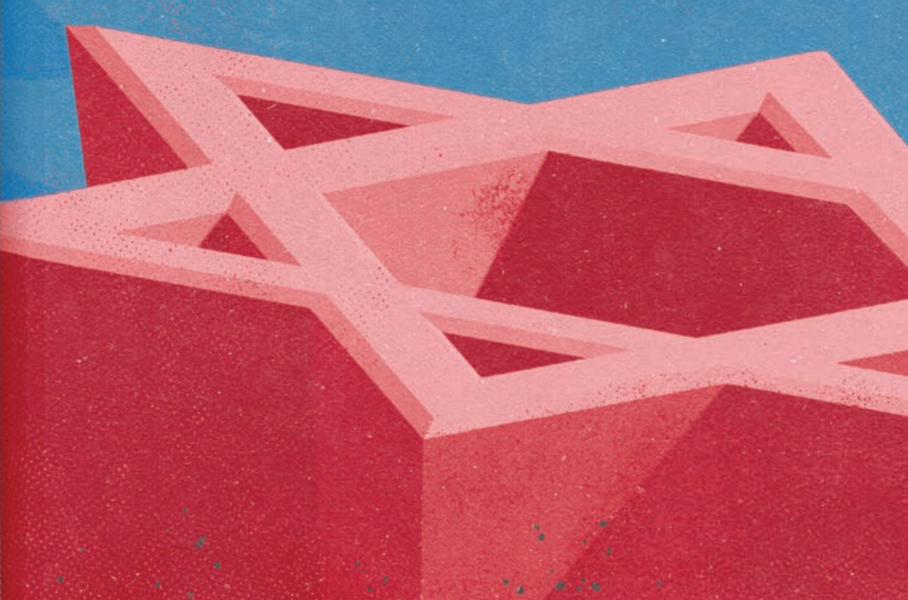
For example, in the Kronstadt Soviet, there was genuine grassroots control, with deliberation happening in assemblies and the executive committee being a coordination mechanism rather than where power was focused. This hugely important Soviet was also where an insurrection against Bolshevik authoritarianism, and for a return to soviet power, was brutally crushed in 1921. Ultimately, the Soviets were centralised into the new Bolshevik state and stripped of their autonomy, becoming shadows of their potential.

# The Sans-Culottes

**The revolutionary sans-culottes of 1793 sought to extend their neighbourhood popular assemblies (sections) as permanent institutions of direct democracy to displace the French republican state and came close to doing so.**

# Kibbutz

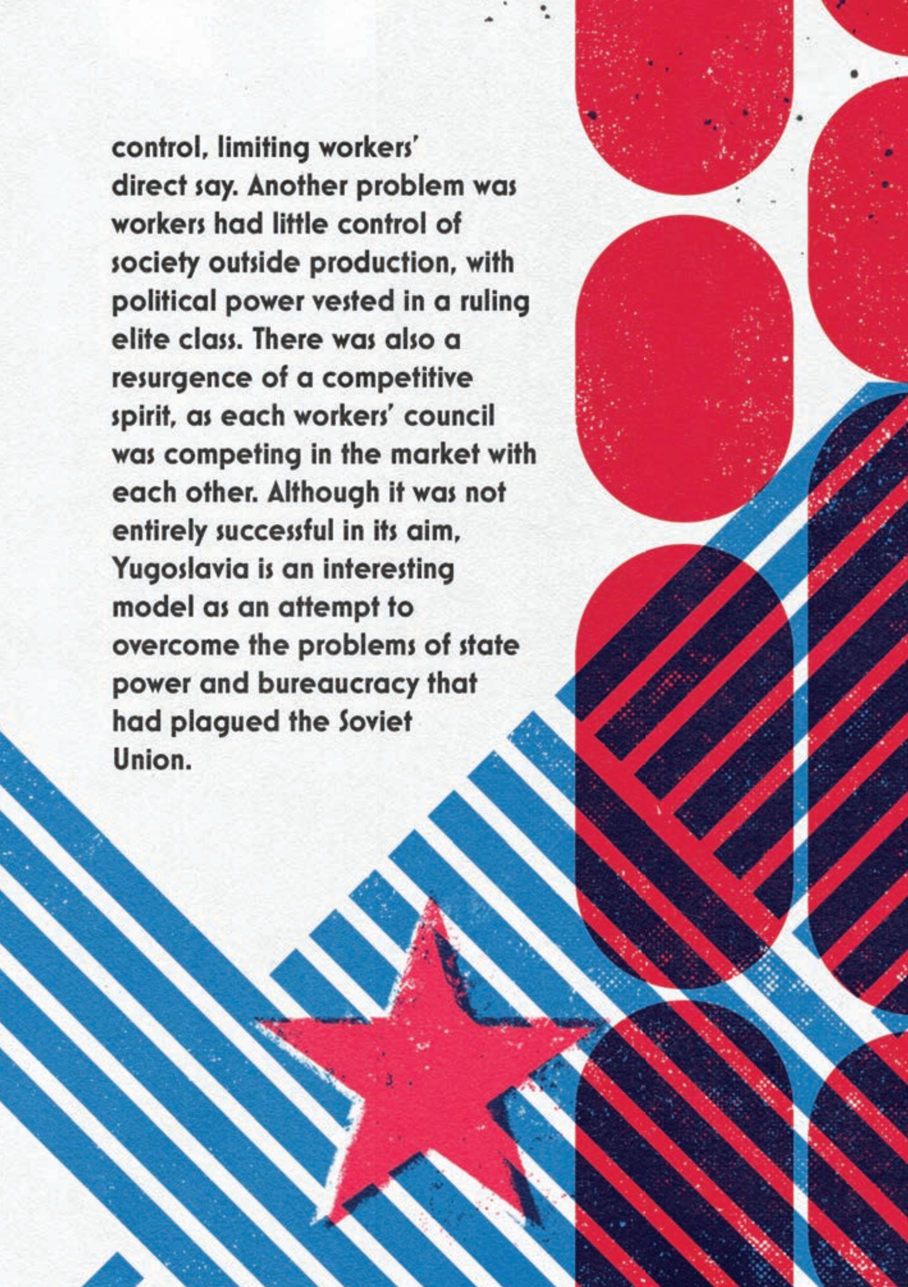
Beginning at the start of the 20th century, Jewish settlers in Palestine established anti-hierarchical communal communities called kibbutzim. Kibbutzim are directly democratic, confederalist, living and farming cooperative communities. Currently, around 120,000 people live in Kibbutz, although they have become less communal over time. Whilst some early Kibbutz members opposed the establishment of Israel, many Kibbutz now are strongly pro-Zionist, serving as a tool of Zionist settler-colonialism on land seized from Palestinians.



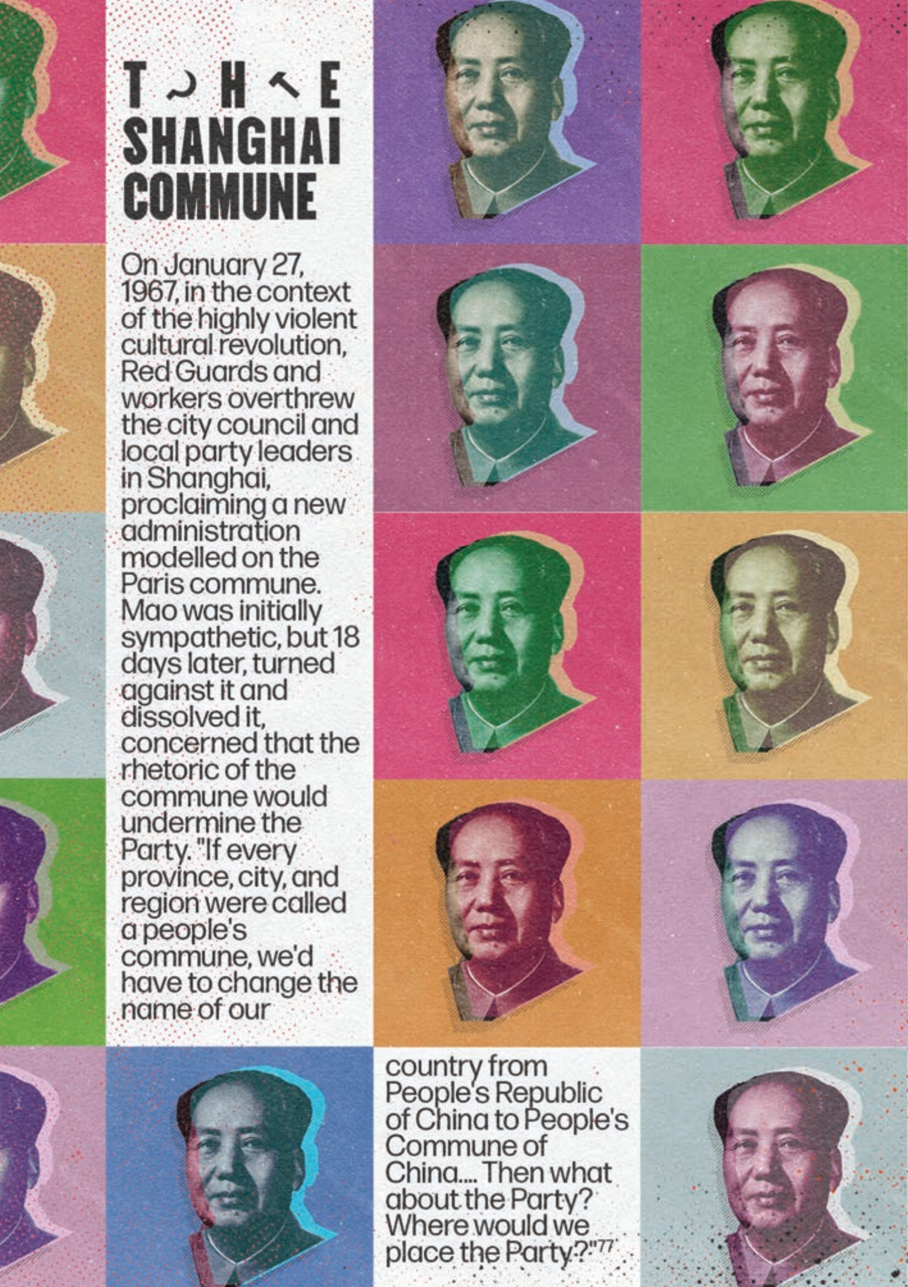
# Yugoslavia

In 1948, Tito's Yugoslavia broke with the Stalinist Soviet Union. Tito argued that Lenin had said that the state would begin to wither away at the point at which power was gained, as state functions would be passed to lower organs, with the state rapidly disappearing – but instead, in the USSR, there had been a centralisation, bureaucratisation and bourgeoisification of society. To Tito, the answer to this problem was to turn over the management of production from the state to working collectives – i.e., workers councils in workplaces. However, these councils operated in the context of a one-party Marxist-Leninist state, which largely undermined them. On the one hand, many decisions over production were taken by workers' councils – although, on the other, the major decisions over the whole economy were kept under mostly authoritarian party

control, limiting workers' direct say. Another problem was workers had little control of society outside production, with political power vested in a ruling elite class. There was also a resurgence of a competitive spirit, as each workers' council was competing in the market with each other. Although it was not entirely successful in its aim, Yugoslavia is an interesting model as an attempt to overcome the problems of state power and bureaucracy that had plagued the Soviet Union.



# THE SHANGHAI COMMUNE



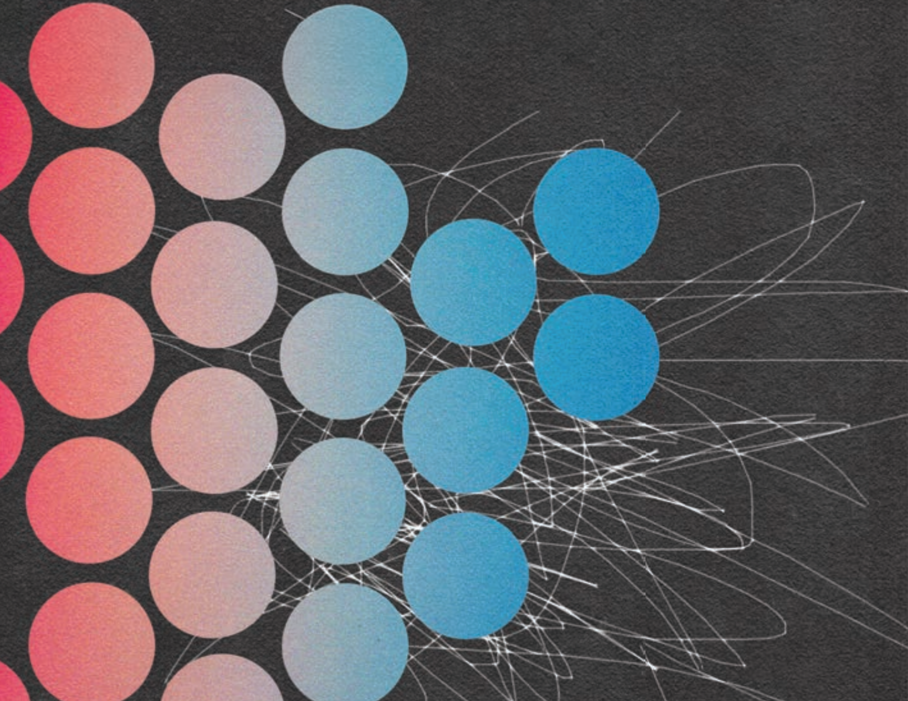
On January 27, 1967, in the context of the highly violent cultural revolution, Red Guards and workers overthrew the city council and local party leaders in Shanghai, proclaiming a new administration modelled on the Paris commune. Mao was initially sympathetic, but 18 days later, turned against it and dissolved it, concerned that the rhetoric of the commune would undermine the Party. "If every province, city, and region were called a people's commune, we'd have to change the name of our country from People's Republic of China to People's Commune of China.... Then what about the Party? Where would we place the Party?"[77]

# PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

**Participatory budgeting is a process whereby citizens decide how public money is spent. Started in 1987 in Porte Alegre, it spread across Brazil, and there are now more than 11,000 instances of the practice worldwide.**

# Emilia Romagna

Emilia Romagna is a region in Italy (population 3.9 million) with a very high concentration of cooperatives. Over 40% of the region's GDP is derived from co-ops, whilst two-thirds of people are members of co-ops.[78] This has significantly improved the region. In 1970, it was one of the worst performing regions of Italy: today it is the best. Income in Emilia Romagna is 30% higher than the Italian average.[79]



Mondragon is a federation of worker coops based in the Basque Country in Spain. Operating in manufacturing, finance and education, Mondragon has around 80,000 employees and has established universities and hospitals. Still, Mondragon exists in capitalism, meaning it has significantly departed from its original values to stay afloat. For example, Mondragon has brought in wage differentials and uses outside cheaper labour (people work in Mondragon who are not coop members). This degeneration is inevitable for coops existing within the capitalist market economy – rather than changing it, it changes you.

# CHERÁN

In 2011, the Mexican town of Cherán kicked out loggers, cartels and police, and banned political parties. The decision-making structure used in the rising has been expanded and decisions are made by community and neighbourhood assemblies, with the councils carrying out the will of people at the local level.

# THE FREE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE

During the Russian civil war, a significant part of Ukraine was ruled by libertarian workers unions, peasant committees and soldiers' councils. This alternative society was defended by Nestor Makhno's anarchist Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army. Communal property relations were established throughout the territory. The Bolsheviks ultimately betrayed the Makhnovists, conquering the region.

# VENEZUELAN COMMUNES

There are currently around 1,500 communes in the country, bringing together participatory, directly democratic self-governance councils with production units. Communes also have their own security and alternative justice system, and hundreds of thousands of people live and work in them.

The communes have a complicated relationship with the governing Party and state. Whilst Hugo Chavez used his last speech before his death to voice support for a "communal state", the majority of the state apparatus and the ruling socialist Party are openly hostile to the communes, seeing this them as a threat to its power.

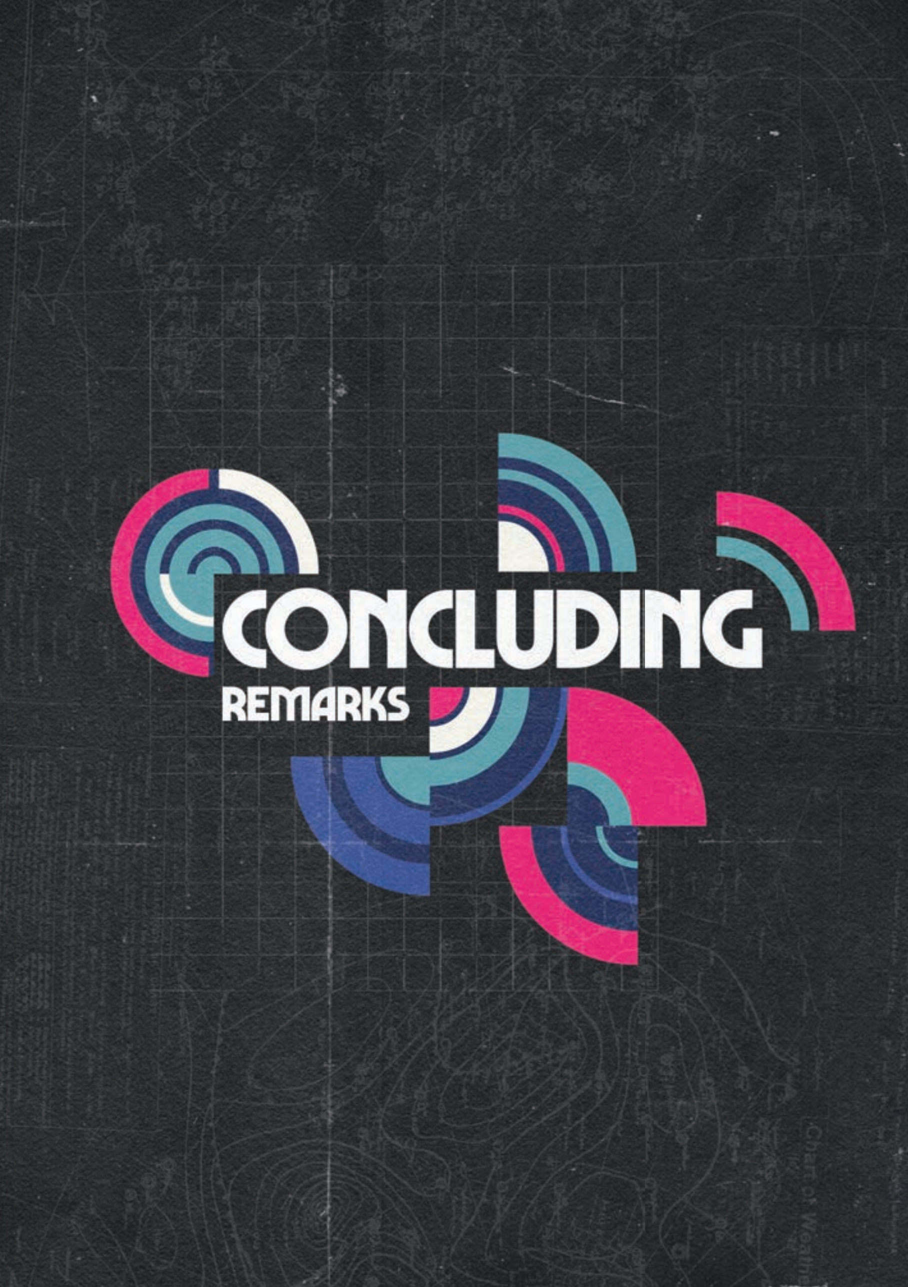
# SQUATTERS' MOVEMENTS

Squatting is a practice whereby people (squatters) occupy abandoned buildings and put them towards some socially beneficial use – like providing housing, or cultural centres. Squatting questions prevailing ownership structures, setting a line in the sand that housing is a right rather than a privilege. For example, following the second world war, 1,038 military camps were squatted in England and Wales by around 40,000 ex-servicemen and their families. This forced the government to implement a huge programme of council house building.

## Chapter 25

# Conclusion

Part 4: Conclusion



# CONCLUDING REMARKS

**This book is a small attempt at broadening our imagination: to enable us to dream of another world; to learn from examples in history and around the world today; and build the courage and hope needed to bring a better world into being. In many ways, the future looks bleak. Climate change poses a genuine threat to continued organised human life, and we face a crisis of imagination that risks us sinking into hopelessness. But another world, beyond capitalism and the state, is not only possible, but crucial to our survival.**

**We hope this book will plant a million tiny seeds of inspiration that can grow and weave together, with all the parts that already exist, into a strong, organised and interconnected solidarity economy. Through trade unions, workers' cooperatives, community land trusts, neighbourhood councils and assemblies, tenant unions, mutual aid groups, squats, social centres and many more forms of solidarity economy organising, we can build up power and create an ecologically balanced and socially just world based on our collective freedom.**

For a
World without bosses
For the solidarity economy
SOLIDARITY ECONOMY ASSOCIATION

# FURTHER READING

Akuno, Kali & Matt Meyer (editors). *Jackson Rising Redux: Lessons on Building the Future in the Present.*

Akuno, Kali. *People's Assembly's Overview: The Jackson People's Assembly Model.*

Ask Popp-Madsen, Benjamin. *Visions of Council Democracy: Castoriadis, Lefort, Arendt.*

Baker, Zoe. *Means and Ends: The Revolutionary Practice of Anarchism in Europe and the United States.*

Bookchin, Murray. *The Ghost of Anarcho-Syndicalism.*

Bookchin, Murray. *The Next Revolution: Popular Assemblies and the Promise of Direct Democracy.*

Bookchin, Murray. *The Third Revolution: Popular Movements in the Revolutionary Era.*

Christie, Stuart. *We, the Anarchists!: A Study of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) 1927-1937.*

Ciccariello-Maher, George. *Building the Commune: Radical Democracy in Venezuela.*

CounterPower. *Organizing for Autonomy: History, Theory, and Strategy for Collective Liberation.*

Dirik, Dilar. *The Kurdish Women's Movement: History, Theory and Practice.*

Draper, Hal. *The 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' from Marx to Lenin.*

Eiglad, Erik. *Communalism as Alternative.*

Evans, Danny. *Revolution and the State: Anarchism in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939.*

Federação Anarquista do Rio de Janeiro. *Social Anarchism and Organisation.*

Geerdink, Fréderike. *This Fire Never Dies: One Year With the PKK.*

Guillamon, Agustin. *Ready for Revolution: The CNT Defense Committees in Barcelona, 1933-1938.*

Herson-Hord, Mason. *Wither the State.*

Internationalist Commune of Rojava. *Revolution and Cooperatives: Thoughts about my time with the economic committee in Rojava*

James, Cyril Lionel Robert James. *Every Cook Can Govern: A Study of Democracy in Ancient Greece, Its Meaning for Today*

Jongerden, Joost. *Learning from defeat: Development and contestation of the "new paradigm" within Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)*

Keasden, Jenni & Natalia Szarek. *Worth Fighting For: Bringing the Rojava Revolution Home.*

Kinna, Ruth. *The Government of No One: The Theory and Practice of Anarchism.*

Knapp, Michael., Anja Flach, Ercan Ayboga. *Revolution in Rojava: Democratic Autonomy and Women's Liberation in the Syrian Kurdistan.*

Kom'boa Ervin, Lorenzo. *Anarchism and the Black Revolution: The Definitive Edition.*

Le Guin, Ursula K. *The Dispossessed.*

Liu, Elliott. *Maoism and the Chinese Revolution: A Critical Introduction.*

Lynd, Staughton and Andrej Grubacic. *Wobblies and Zapatistas: Conversations on Anarchism, Marxism, and Radical History.*

Michael Colón, John, Mason Herson-Hord, Katie S. Horvath, Dayton Martindale, Matthew Porges. *Community, Democracy, and Mutual Aid: Toward Dual Power and Beyond*

Ness, Immanuel and Dario Azzellini (editors). *Ours to Master and to Own: Worker's Control from the Commune to the Present.*

Nunes, Rodrigo. *Neither Vertical nor Horizontal: A Theory of Political Organization*

Öcalan, Abdullah. *Beyond State, Power, and Violence.*

Öcalan, Abdullah. *The Sociology of Freedom.*

Pinta, Saku. *Towards a libertarian communism: a conceptual history of the intersections between anarchisms and Marxisms*

Price, Wayne. *The Abolition of the State: Anarchist & Marxist Perspectives.*

Prichard, Alex (editor), Dave Berry (Editor), Ruth Kinna (Editor), Saku Pinta (Editor). *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red.*

Rojava Information Centre. *Beyond the frontlines: The building of the democratic system in North and East Syria.*

Seidman, Michael. *Workers Against Work: Labor in Paris and Barcelona during the Popular Fronts.*

Souchy, Augustin. *With The Peasants of Aragon: Libertarian*

*Communism in the Liberated Areas.*

Wetzel, Tom. *Overcoming Capitalism: Strategy for the Working Class in the 21st Century.*

Wetzel, Tom. *Workers Power and the Spanish Revolution.*

Wu, Yiching. *The Cultural Revolution at the Margins: Chinese Socialism in Crisis.*

# PICTURE SOURCES

Ursula Le Guin. Illustration made from photo by Marian Wood Kolisch. 1995. This file is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ursula_Le_Guin_(3551195631)_(cropped).jpg

Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin. Illustration from photo by Zaynab Shahar. Our thanks for Zaynabs permission to use the photo as the basis for an illustration.

David Graeber. Illustration made from a photo by Guido van Nispen. 2015. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:David_Graeber_speaks_at_Maagdenhuis_Amsterdam,_2015-03-07_(16741093492).jpg

Eduardo Galeano. Illustration from photo by Rafael Holanda Barroso. 2014. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eduardo_Galeano_en_Brazil;_2014.jpg

Peter Kropotkin. Illustration made from a photo by Nadar (Gaspard-Félix Tournachon). 1900. This image is in the Public Domain. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Peter_Kropotkin_circa_1900.jpg

Women in the black panther party. Illustration made from a photo by Wikipedia user Rainalee111. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Black.Panthers.Women.jpg

Black panther party logo from Lowndes County Freedom Organization flyer. Alabama original Black Panther party. 1966. This file is made available under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication.

Historical sign at Market and 55th, North Oakland (Santa Fe). Illustration made from photo by Wikipedia user Eekiv. 2012. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Black_Panthers_historical_sign,_north_Oakland.jpg

Black Panther Party newspaper cover. Illustration made from photo by Loz Pycock. 2017. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Various_Works_From_Black_Panther_Newspaper_by_Emory_Douglas,_%27Soul_of_a_Nation%27,_Tate_Modern.jpg

Black Panther Party Oakland logo. Illustration made from photo by Figura de Linguagem. 2019.This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Luizfoto.jpg

Albert Howard. Illustration made from a photo by Mieremet, Rob / Anefo. 1970. This image is in the Public Domain. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Albert_Howard_hield_lezing_over_Black_Panther_beweging_in_USA_in_Mozes_en_Aaro,_Bestanddeelnr_923-1651.jpg

Flyer for a Black Panther Rally, to be held June 19, 1970, Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C. This image is in the Public Domain. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Black_Panther_DC_Rally_Revolutionary_People%27s_Constitutional_Convention_1970.jpg

Abdullah Öcalan. Illustration made from photo by Halil Uysal. 1997. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unportedlicense. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abdullah_Öcalan.png

Silvia Federci. Illustration made from photo by Marta Jara. 2014. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Spain license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_escritora_y_activista_feminista_Silvia_Federici_(cropped).jpg

Demonstration in Manchester protesting University accommodation rent. Illustration made from a photo by UOM Rent Strike. 2023. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1st_March_University_of_Manchester_Demonstration.jpg

A mass demonstration in Barcelona, workers hold a banner reading, "Solidaridad Obrera", the daily newspaper of the Spanish Revolution. Illustration made from photo from anonymous author. 1936/1937. This image (or other media file) is in the public domain because its copyright has expired and its author is anonymous. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CNT-AIT-FAI.jpg

Barricades of the Paris Commune. Illustration made from photo from Pierre-Ambroise Richebourg. 1871. This file is made available under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Barricade_Paris_1871_by_Pierre-Ambrose_Richebourg.jpg

Paris map. Illustration from Thomas March. 1896. The image has no known copyright restrictions. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:16_of_%27The_History_of_the_Paris_Commune_of_1871%27_(11237742566).jpg

A barricade in the Paris Commune. Illustration from photo by unknown author. 1871. This work is in the public domain. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Commune_de_Paris_barricade_de_la_Chaussée_Ménilmontant.jpg

Portrait of Karl Marx. Illustration from photo by John Jabez Edwin Mayal. Unknown date. This work is in the public domain. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl_Marx_001.jpg

Potrait of Mikhail Bakunin. Illustration from photo by Nadar (Gaspard-Félix Tournachon). Unknown date. This work is in the public domain. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bakunin_Nadar.jpg

Photos from Spanish Civil war used with kind permission of Julius Backman Jääskeläinen. Images are edited.

Sickle. Illustration by Emily J. Harding. 1894. This work is in the public domain. Photo from Flickr: www.flickr.com/photos/britishlibrary/11129999646/in/faves-197351131@N05/

Buenaventura Durruti. Illustration from photo by Unknown Author. 1936. This work is in the public domain. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jose_Buenaventura_Durruti_Dumange_1936.jpg

Zapatistas. Illustration from photo by Julian Stallabrass. 1996. This file is licensed under the Creative CommonsAttribution 2.0 Generic license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ejército_Zapatista_de_Liberación_Nacional_img040-sm_(11449438806).jpg

Member of the EZLN. Illustration from photo by Lorenzo Tlacaelel. 2012. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:EZLN_March_2012_(8295899486).png

YPJ fighter doing victory symbol. Illustration from photo by Flickr user Kurdishstruggle. 2017. This file is licensed under CC BY 2.0 DEED Attribution 2.0 Generic. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Flickr: www.flickr.com/photos/kurdishstruggle/37611918885/in/album-72157645769942267/

YPJ fighters. Illustration from photo by unknown author. 2015. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Kurdish_YPG_Fighters_(22017659974).jpg

YPJ fighter looking sideways. Illustration from photo by Flickr user Kurdishstruggle. 2018. This file is licensed under CC BY 2.0 DEED Attribution 2.0 Generic. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Flickr: www.flickr.com/photos/kurdishstruggle/26992605318/in/album-72157645769942267/

MST women with flag. Illustration from photo by wikipedia user Klausssteatro. 2022. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.pt.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Crédito-_Arô_Ribeiro.jpg

MST demonstration. Illustration from photo by Wilson Dias. 2007. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Brazil license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MST_06142007.jpg

Abahlali baseMjondolo Protest the Slums Act at the Constitutional Court in Johannesburg, South Africa. Illustration from photo by Wikipedia user Sekwanele 2. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abahlali_baseMjondolo_Protest_the_Slums_Act_at_the_Constitutional_Court.jpg

Stamp version of the Emblem of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Illustration from wikipedia user R-41. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Emblem_of_SFR_Yugoslavia_%28stamp_version%29.svg

Mao Zedong. Illustration from photo by 孟庆彪. 1963. This work is in the public domain. Changes to the original image have been made. Photo from Wikimedia Commons: www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mao_Zedong_1959_(cropped).jpg

All other photos not individually listed are from Unsplash.

# REFERENCES

1. Anderson, William C. 2020. “Ungovernable: An Interview with Lorenzo Kom’boa Ervin.” The Anarchist Library. Accessed 11/12/2023. https://usa.anarchistlibraries.net/library/william-c-anderson-ungovernable-an-interview-with-lorenzo-kom-boa-ervin

2. Positive Money. 2017. “Global Inequality.” Accessed 11/12/2023. https://positivemoney.org/2017/01/global-inequality/#:~:text=people%20%2D%20Positive%20Money-,Eight%20men%20own%20the%20same%20amount%20of,world%27s%20poorest%203.6%20billion%20people&text=The%20world%27s%20eight%20richest%20individuals,-see%20today%20are%20not%20normal.

3. Food and Agriculture Organization. 2022. “Keynote address by CFS Chair to the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries.” Accessed 11/12/2023. https://www.fao.org/cfs/resources/detail/en/c/1609703/ United Nations. “Sustainable Development Goals. Goal 2: Zero Hunger” Accessed 11/12/2023. https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/hunger/#:~:text=In%20addition%2C%20an%20estimated%202.4,million%20people%20compared%20to%202019.

4. World Food Programme. 2021. “In world of wealth, 9 million people die every year from hunger, WFP Chief tells Food System Summit.” Accessed 11/12/2023. https://www.wfp.org/news/world-wealth-9-million-people-die-every-year-hunger-wfp-chief-tells-food-system-summit#:~:text=“There%20is%20400%20trillion%20dollars,die%20per%20day%20from%20hunger.

5. Graeber, David. 2013. “On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs: A Work Rant.” STRIKE! Magazine. Accessed 11/12/2023. https://strikemag.org/bullshit-jobs/

6. Office for National Statistics. 2020. “Coronavirus and Key Workers in the UK.” Accessed 11/12/2023.https://www.ons.

gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/articles/coronavirusandkeyworkersintheuk/2020-05-15#:~:text=In%202019%2C%2010.6%20million%20of,and%20social%20care%20(31%25).

7. Angry Workers. 2020. *Class Power on Zero-Hours.*
8. Graeber, David. 2019. Bullshit Jobs: A Theory. London: Penguin.
9. Graeber, David. 2020. “To save the world, we’re going to have to stop working.” The Big Issue. [Online] Available at: https://www.bigissue.com/opinion/david-graeber-to-save-the-world-were-going-to-have-to-stop-
10. Spade, Dean. 2020. *Mutual Aid: Building Solidarity During This Crisis (and the Next).* New York: Verso.
11. Spade, Dean. 2020. *Mutual Aid: Building Solidarity During This Crisis (and the Next).* New York: Verso.
12. Kropotkin, Peter 1902. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution.*
13. Gelderloos, Peter. 2010. “Anarchy Works: Examples of Anarchist Ideas in Practice.” [Online] Available at: https://usa.anarchistlibraries.net/library/peter-gelderloos-anarchy-works
14. Unknown Author. “Common Ground Collective”. Anarchy in Action. [Online] Available at: https://anarchyinaction.org/index.php?title=Common_Ground_Collective#cite_note-2
15. Balanced job complexes involve redistributing both empowering and routine tasks among all workers to promote equity, active participation, and skill development. It was created by Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel in their model of Participatory Economics after looking at the historical problems in self-managed workplaces.
16. Participatory economic planning, envisioned by Robin Hahnel and Michael Albert, is a model created as a non-market planning alternative to free markets and top-down central planning.

17. Bookchin, Murray. 1996. *The Third Revolution: Popular Movements in the Revolutionary Era Volume 1.* New York: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

18. Puente, Issac. 1932. *El Comunismo Libertario.*

19. Guillamón, Agustin. 1996. *The Friends of Durruti Group: 1937–1939.* Edinburgh: AK Press.

20. Öcalan, Abdullah. 2011. *Democratic Confederalism.* London: Transmedia Publishing Ltd.

21. Federici, Silvia. 2015. "Global Anarchism: Provocations" in *No Gods, No Masters, No Peripheries: Global Anarchisms*, edited by Barry Maxwell and Raymond Crib. Oakland: PM Press.

22. CounterPower. 2020. *Organising for Autonomy: History, Theory, and Strategy for Collective Liberation.* New York: Common Notions.

23. According to Daniel Guérin, "classical anarchism" argued for "federalist and noncoercive centralisation". From Guérin, Daniel. 2017. *For a Libertarian Communism*. New York: PM Press. See also "Direct democracy gives an idea of the amount of decentralisation that socialist society will be able to achieve. But this democratic society will have to find a means of democratically integrating these basic units into the social fabric as a whole as well as achieving the necessary degree of centralisation, without which the life of a modern nation would collapse." Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1998. "The Proletarian Revolution against Bureaucracy" in Political and social writings, vol. 2. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

24. See the section on the non-profit industrial complex.

25. For example, in the conflict between the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) and the 'Treinta' moderate trade unionists within the CNT from 1931-1933.

26. Sreenan, Dermot. 1995. "The 1931 Barcelona Rent Strike.". Accessed 11/12/2023. https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/dermot-sreenan-the-1931-barcelona-rent-strike.

27. International Co-operative Alliance (ICA). 1995. "Cooperative Identity." Accessed 12/12/23. https://www.ica.coop/en/cooperatives/cooperative-identity.

28. Kropotkin, Peter. 1913 "Modern Science and Anarchy." Accessed 11/12/2023. https://usa.anarchistlibraries.net/library/petr-kropotkin-modern-science-and-anarchy.

29. Shore Porters Society. "History." Accessed 12/12/2023. https://www.shoreporters.com/history/#:~:text=Established%20in%201498six%20years,oldest%20co%2Doperatives%20in%20existence.

30. United Nations. 2023. "New UN Resolution on Social and Solidarity Economy." Accessed 12/12/2023. https://social.desa.un.org/sdn/new-un-resolution-on-social-and-solidarity-economy.

31. Gupta, Rahila. 2023. "Iran: Kurdish Feminist Revolution." New Internationalist. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://newint.org/immersive/2023/02/23/iran-kurdish-feminist-revolution

32. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. 2017. *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex.* Durham: Duke University Press Books.

33. Federici, Silvia. 2004. Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation.

34. Winstanley, Gerrard. 1649. The True Levellers Standard Advanced: Or, The State of Community Opened, and Presented to the Sons of Men. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/winstanley/1649/levellers-standard.htm.

35. Winstanley, Gerrard. 1649. The True Levellers Standard Advanced: Or, The State of Community Opened, and Presented to the Sons of Men. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/winstanley/1649/levellers-standard.htm.

36. Evans, Rob. 2019. "Who Owns England? Thousand Secret Landowners, Author Reveals." The Guardian. Accessed 12/12/2023.. https://www.theguardian.com/money/2019/apr/17/who-owns-england-thousand-secret-landowners-author.

37. Milmo, Cahal. 2020. "I Wanted to be Joe Bloggs": Billionaire Duke of Westminster Leaves Vast Fortune to 25-Year-Old Son." iNews. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://inews.co.uk/news/i-wanted-joe-bloggs-billionaire-duke-westminster-leaves-vast-fortune-25-year-old-son-17592.

38. ROAR Collective. 2016. "The Commune Lives." In ROAR Magazine Issue 1. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://roarmag.org/magazine/editorial-the-commune-lives/.

39. The Anarchist FAQ Editorial Collective. 2020. "A.5.1 The Paris Commune." The Anarchist FAQ. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/the-anarchist-faq-editorial-collective-an-anarchist-faq-full.

40. Marx, Karl. 1874. "Conspectus of Bakunin's Statism and Anarchy, April 1874 - January 1875." Accessed 12/12/2023. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1874/04/bakunin-notes.htm.

41. Lenin, V.I. 1918. *The State and Revolution: The Marxist Theory of the State & the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution.* Accessed 12/12/2023. https://www.marxists.org/ebooks/lenin/state-and-revolution.pdf.

42. ROAR Collective. 2016. "The Political Form at Last Rediscovered." In ROAR Magazine Issue 1. Accessed 12/12/2023. www.roarmag.org/magazine/the-political-form-

at-last-rediscovered/.

43. Bookchin, Murray. 2015. *The Next Revolution: Popular Assemblies and the Promise of Direct Democracy.* New York: Verso.

44. Guillamón, Agustín. 2014. *Ready for Revolution: The CNT Defense Committees in Barcelona, 1933-1938.* Edinburgh: AK Press.

45. Guillamón, Agustín. 2020. *Insurrection: The Bloody Events of May 1937 in Barcelona.* Edinburgh: AK Press.

46. Guillamón, Agustin. 2009. From Defense Cadres to Popular Militias. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://libcom.org/article/defense-cadres-popular-militias-augustin-guillamon

47. Guillamón, Agustin. 2001. Theses on the Spanish Civil War and the revolutionary situation created on July 19 1936. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/agustin-guillamon-theses-on-the-spanish-civil-war-and-the-revolutionary-situation-created-on-ju

48. Bookchin, Murray. 2020. "Anarchism, Power, and Government" in Free cities: communalism and the left. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://libcom.org/article/free-cities-communalism-and-left Wetzel, Tom. 2006. Workers Power and the Spanish Revolution. Accessed 12/12/2023 .https://libcom.org/article/workers-power-and-spanish-revolution-tom-wetzel

49. Dolgoff, Sam. 1974. The anarchist collectives: workers' self-management in the Spanish Revolution 1936-1939.

50. Goldman, Emma. 2006. Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution. Edinburgh: AK Press.

51. Gaston Leval. 1975. "Collectives in the Spanish Revolution." The Anarchist Library. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gaston-leval-collectives-in-the-spanish-revolution

52. Biehl, Janet. 2015. *Bookchin's Revolutionary Program.* Roar Magazine. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://roarmag.org/magazine/biehl-bookchins-revolutionary-program/

53. The Guardian. 2019. "Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast Program." [Online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/oct/17/black-panther-party-oakland-free-breakfast-50th-anniversary#:~:text=By%20the%20end%20of%201969,the%20party%2C"%20Jennings%20recalled.

54. PBS. 2002. "Black Panther Party Actions for Survival." [Online] Available at: https://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/actions/actions_survival.html

55. Spade, Dean. 2020. Mutual Aid: Building Solidarity During This Crisis (and the Next). New York: Verso.

56. Wood, Adrian, and Nutan Rajguru. Panther: The Black Rebellion. Socialist Alternative. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://www.socialistalternative.org/panther-black-rebellion/the-black-panther-party-for-self-defense/.

57. Löwy, Michael and Olivier Besancenot. 2023. *Revolutionary Affinities: Toward a Marxist-Anarchist Solidarity.* New York: PM Press.

58. Rebrii, Anna. 2020. Zapatistas: Lessons in community self-organisation in Mexico. Assessed 11/12/2023. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/zapatistas-lecciones-de-auto-organización-comunitaria-en/

59. Ness, Immanuel and Dario Azzellini (Editors). 2011. *Ours to Master and to Own : Worker's Control from the Commune to the Present.* Chicago: Haymarket Books.

60. Vieta, Marcelo. 2019. Workers' Self-Management in Argentina. Contesting Neo-Liberalism by Occupying Companies, Creating Cooperatives, and Recuperating Autogestión. Leiden: Brill.

61. Gelderloos, Peter. 2010. “Anarchy Works: Examples of Anarchist Ideas in Practice.” [Online] Available at: https://usa.anarchistlibraries.net/library/peter-gelderloos-anarchy-works

62. Gelderloos, Peter. 2010. “Anarchy Works: Examples of Anarchist Ideas in Practice.” [Online] Available at: https://usa.anarchistlibraries.net/library/peter-gelderloos-anarchy-works

63. Gelderloos, Peter. 2010. “Anarchy Works: Examples of Anarchist Ideas in Practice.” [Online] Available at: https://usa.anarchistlibraries.net/library/peter-gelderloos-anarchy-works

64. Ness, Immanuel and Dario Azzellini (Editors). 2011. *Ours to Master and to Own : Worker’s Control from the Commune to the Present*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

65. Jongerden, Joost. 2019. “Learning from defeat: Development and contestation of the “new paradigm” within Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK)”. Kurdish Studies 7,

66. Kurdistan Democratic Communities Union. 2023. “Interview Democratic Confederalism with Xebat Andok”. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://kck-info.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/KCK-Interview-Xebat-Andok-Democratic-Confederalism-March-2023.pdf

67. Rojava Information Centre. Beyond the frontlines: The building of the democratic system in North and East Syria. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://rojavainformationcenter.org/2019/12/report-beyond-the-frontlines/

68. Rojava Information Centre. Beyond the frontlines: The building of the democratic system in North and East Syria. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://rojavainformationcenter.org/2019/12/report-beyond-the-frontlines/

69. Gelderloos, Peter. 2010. “Anarchy Works: Examples of Anarchist Ideas in Practice.” [Online] Available at: https://usa.anarchistlibraries.net/library/peter-gelderloos-anarchy-works

70. Gelderloos, Peter. 2010. “Anarchy Works: Examples of Anarchist Ideas in Practice.” [Online] Available at: https://usa.anarchistlibraries.net/library/peter-gelderloos-anarchy-works

71. Abahlali baseMjondolo. 2010. “A Letter to Our German Comrades” [Online] Available at: https://libcom.org/library/letter-our-german-comrades

72. The slogan of Boycott Campaign for the 2006 and 2011 local elections and national government election of 2009.

73. Gibson, Morgan Rodgers. 2010. *Anarchism, the State and the Praxis of Contemporary Antisystemic Social Movements.* [Online] Available at: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/morgan-rodgers-gibson-anarchism-the-state-and-the-praxis-of-contemporary-antisystemic-social-mo#toc31

74. Pithouse, Richard. 2016. “Decolonizing the Commune”. [Online] Available at:https://roarmag.org/magazine/decolonizing-the-commune/

75. Socioeconomic Rights Institute of South Africa. 2022. *Abahlali baseMjondolo: Living Politics*. [Online] Available at: https://www.seri-sa.org/images/CPN_Abahlali_Report_FINAL_WEB.pdf

76. Biehl, Janet and Murray Bookchin. 1998. *The Politics of Social Ecology: Libertarian Municipalism.* Black Rose Books.

77. Wu, Yiching. 2014. The Cultural Revolution at the Margins: Chinese Socialism in Crisis. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

78. Restakis, John. 2007. The Emilian Model: Profile of a Co-operative Economy. [Online] Available at: https://auspace.athabascau.ca/bitstream/handle/2149/1111/Emilia_Romagna_Model.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

79. Restakis, John. 2007. The Emilian Model: Profile of a Co-oper-

ative Economy. ". [Online] Available at: https://auspace.athabascau.ca/bitstream/handle/2149/1111/Emilia_Romagna_Model.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

80. Harvey, Rebecca. 2022. "We Need Our Land Back: Community Land Trusts and the Fight for Fair Space." The News Cooperative. Accessed 12/12/2023. https://www.thenews.coop/163558/sector/we-need-our-land-back-community-land-trusts-and-the-fight-for-fair-space/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20UK%27s%20CLT,further%207%2C100%20in%20the%20pipeline.

# SOLIDARITY ECONOMY ASSOCIATION

We're the Solidarity Economy Association, a small, worker-led co-operative based in England, Scotland and Wales, working to overcome capitalism by building up the solidarity economy from below. As a worker-led co-operative we take decisions and share the workload together without a managerial structure. We value everyone's voice and aim to work in a way that is democratic and based on care and respect for each other and the other people, groups and movements we work with.

As an organisation we have existed since 2015, but incorporated with the name Solidarity Economy Association in 2017. We're a not-for-profit organisation, meaning our aim is not to make money and we do not accumulate wealth.

With the understanding that the solidarity economy is not a 'new' economy, we identify weaknesses in the existing solidarity economy and build partnerships to address them, aiming to build capacity, amplify voices and weave relationships, in particular between work being done on the ground by those facing the worst effects of the current system.

Our activities range from building and growing networks to designing and running education workshops and online resources, from coordinating international solidarity activity to supporting the development of new infrastructure, such as co-operatives, to support the solidarity economy.

As a co-op, we also see ourselves as part of the 'co-operative movement'. We see co-ops as one form of vehicle that can help re-centre social relations at the core of the economy and have been studying the history and current practice of co-operative development, both through research and experience. However, we understand co-ops to be only one aspect of a broad and diverse solidarity economy, which includes innumerable forms of mutual aid and solidarity at local, regional, national and transnational levels.

The Solidarity Economy Association runs several projects around the revolution in Rojava: we publish information on the new system being built up at Cooperation in Mesopotamia and also set up the Water for Rojava Committee, which helps support water infrastructure projects of the autonomous administration, as the Turkish state uses restrictions of access to water as a weapon of war.

You can see all our projects at:

solidarityeconomy.coop

# DOG SECTION PRESS

Dog Section Press is a not-for-profit publisher and distributor of seditious literature, and a registered worker-owned cooperative.

**dogsection.org**

DOG SECTION PRESS

# OTHER TITLES FROM DOG SECTION PRESS

*Social Ecology and the Rojava Revolution*
Internationalist Commune of Rojava

*Post-Internet Far Right*
12 Rules For What

*Abolishing The Police*
Koshka Duff and
Cat Sims

*Great Anarchists*
Ruth Kinna and
Clifford Harper

*Animal Squat*
Double Why

*Make Rojava Green Again*
Internationalist Commune of Rojava

*The Rhyming Guide to Grenfell Britain*
Potent Whisper

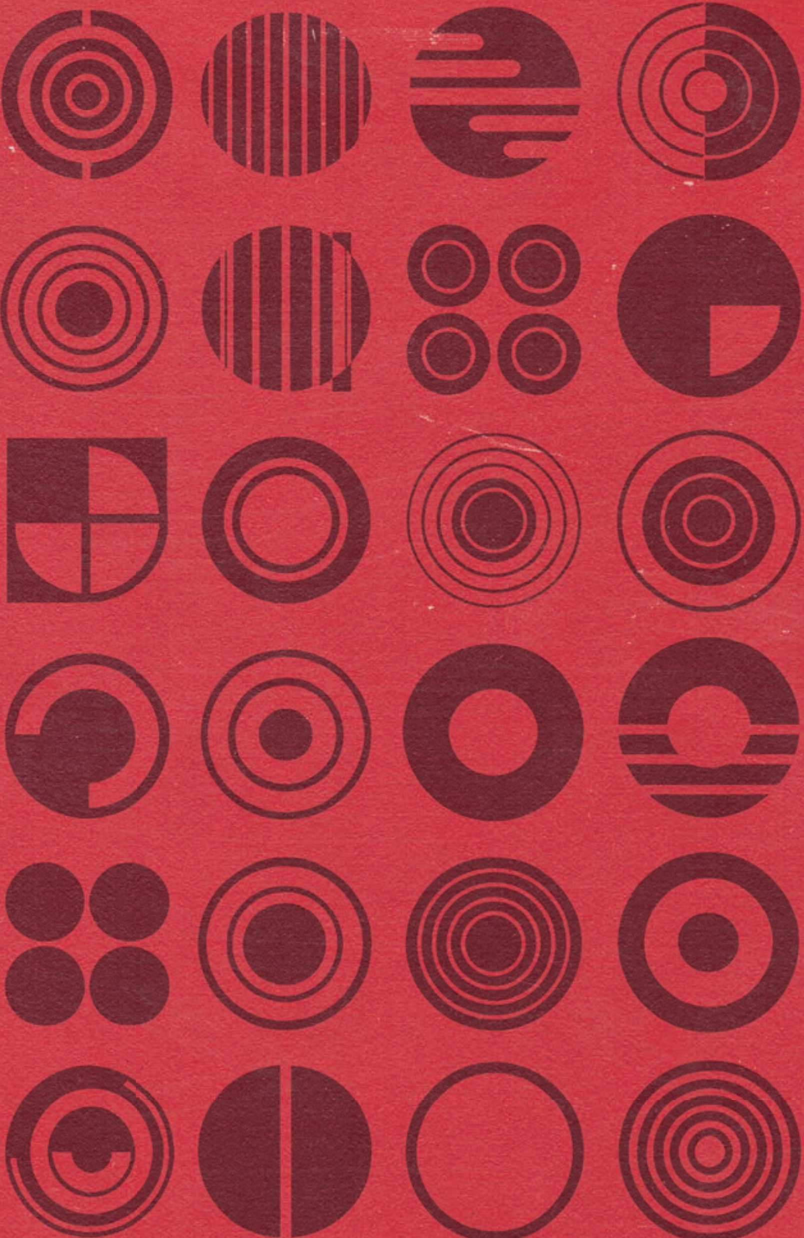
*NO! Against Adult Supremacy*
Stinney Distro

*Subvertising Manual*
Brandalism

*Subvertising*
Hogre

*Advertising Shits in Your Head*
Anon.

*Options for dealing with squatting*
Persons Unknown



**"As capitalism and the nation-state destroy the biosphere and produce ever greater human immiseration, the practice of mutual aid and economic solidarity is more important than ever. This beautifully-crafted little book will inspire you to change the world - and give you the tools to do it."**

- Debbie Bookchin

**"Economists speak a language most of us don't understand. This lovely book reminds us that economics is how we collectively meet our needs. Be inspired!"**

- Prof. Ruth Kinna

SOLIDARITY ECONOMY ASSOCIATION

£8

9781234567897